

THE BOUNDARYLESS NATURE OF THE DAIRY FARMING CAREER AND
ITS IMPACT ON THE INDIVIDUAL, THE FAMILY, AND THE COMMUNITY:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDY OF CULVERDEN,
A RURAL NORTH CANTERBURY TOWN

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ABSTRACT

The boundaryless career has become a remarkably popular, albeit contentious, concept, with various academics and practitioners offering cautionary notes concerning the lack of understanding of boundaryless career implications. This thesis argues that the boundaryless career concept is theoretically and empirically under-developed with regard to the impact of such careers, particularly those in what literature appears to consider 'non-professional' occupations. Beginning with a review of existing boundaryless career literature, this thesis moves on to introduce the notion of dairy farming as a boundaryless career and provides an insight into the impact such a career can have. Observations and interviews are then combined to produce an ethnographic case study of the experiences of the Culverden community with the findings being presented in three sections – individual, family and community. The discussion of each of these sections partially supports prevailing literature by confirming the existence of a number of positive aspects of boundaryless careers. At the same time however, these discussions identify a number of negative aspects associated with this type of career. The limitations of existing research are thus highlighted through confirming that career literature neglects the potential impacts of the positive aspects it regularly refers to, and almost entirely overlooks potential impacts of the negative aspects of boundaryless careers. This thesis therefore has not only theoretical significance through contributing to existing literature by providing insight into both the positive and negative impacts of boundaryless careers from not only an individual perspective, but also a family and community perspective, but also practical significance in that it provides an awareness of the potential implications of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming which may aid in the development of strategies to address problems and simultaneously take advantage of the opportunities created by the boundaryless nature of dairy farming. In this way, this thesis has the potential to play a crucial role in the maintenance of a cohesive, sustainable rural community.

INTRODUCTION

The way we view and enact careers has changed markedly. The traditional blueprint of a secure job with its associated long-term benefits and positional advancements via both hard work and loyalty has all but been destroyed. As a result, ascent up a corporate ladder is no longer an ideal or reality for many members of the workforce. Work has instead evolved into new forms, where worker mobility has become increasingly important with regard to personal development and organisational learning.

This new form of employment relationship has been termed the “Boundaryless Career”. The concept of the boundaryless career was first introduced in a special edition of the *Journal of Organizational Behaviour* (Arthur, 1994). Two years later it was developed further in a 1996 edited collection (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) and has since then become a popular, albeit contentious, concept.

A number of theorists and practitioners have offered cautionary notes regarding the concept of the boundaryless career. Lichtenstein, Hartwell and Olsen (1998) believe the rapid expansion of boundaryless processes has far outstripped understanding of them and their influence on the structure and process of careers. This view is supported by Lust (1998:256) who, while admitting that this is a new phenomenon under review, believes a lot of boundaryless career literature is very speculative and that “there is much crystal ball gazing” occurring. Teff (1997) believes that while attempting to understand and interpret the implications of organisational career changes, the exploding body of literature on the concept of boundaryless careers has come up short in its attempt to formulate solutions. Consistent with these views is Pringle and Mallon’s (2002) argument that the concept remains theoretically and empirically undeveloped, thus limiting its explanatory potential. They argue that social structures such as national contexts, gender, and ethnicity, are not given sufficient credential in boundaryless career theory development. Furthermore, they believe that unless the narrowness of the concept is expanded, there is a danger of losing what Collin (1998:414) refers to as “the opportunity to conceptualize the multidimensional quality of career” that includes the relational context of the individual.

Given specific reservations about the portability of the boundaryless career concept beyond the careers of professionals in large United States companies (Hirsh and Shanley, 1996), Pringle and Mallon (2002) focused on the experiences of careers within particular contexts - women’s career experiences, local ethnic groups, and collective cultures – groups they viewed as the ‘understudied’ in the realm of boundaryless careers. In conclusion, they suggested that further development must

include “a wide range of groups if the boundaryless career concept, or any succeeding revisions, are to develop into robust and influential heuristic theories” (Pringle and Mallon, 2002:15). It is from a combination of this, aforementioned views, and a personal interest, that this thesis draws its focus. Beginning with a review of the concept of the boundaryless career and moving on to explain the notion of dairy farming as a boundaryless career, I intend to provide insight into the career experiences of another ‘understudied’ group in career literature – farmers. More specifically, through the use of local illustrative cases, New Zealand research, and relevant international literature, I aim to determine the impact, whether it be positive, negative, or a combination of the two, that the boundaryless nature of dairy farming is having on not only individuals, but also families and society, through a community case study of Culverden, a rural North Canterbury town. After all, as Collin and Watts (1996:393) maintain, career is not a “privatized endeavour”, but rather it “arises from the interaction of individuals with organizations and society” (Collin, 1998:412).

BOUNDARYLESS CAREERS

Arthur and Rousseau (1996) define boundaryless careers as being the opposite of the traditional organisational career. Whereas the traditional organisational career was considered to involve professional advancement within one or two firms, a boundaryless, or protean (Hall, 1996a) career, is defined as "...a sequence of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of a single employment setting" (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996:116). Individuals experiencing this new form of employment no longer proceed linearly and hierarchically forward in their careers but instead become zigzag people (Bateson, 1994) who face multiple discontinuities (Weick, 1996). Today, workers outside of the traditional career model, who have "boundaryless careers", are becoming the norm rather than the exception (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 1996a; Osterman, 1996).

It is only recently that researchers have examined careers across multiple firms and boundaries. Arthur and Rousseau's book, entitled, "The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle For A New Organizational Era" (1996), is one of the first attempts to provide a systematic examination of the phenomenon of boundaryless careers. This book is a collection of articles by noted scholars who assume the daunting task of framing contemporary careers in the milieu of changing organisational and societal conditions. This collection of authors focus on the nature of boundaryless careers, knowledge requirements associated with careers of this type, social structure changes required by the shift to boundaryless careers, personal growth and developmental requirements, and changes needed in social institutions (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996).

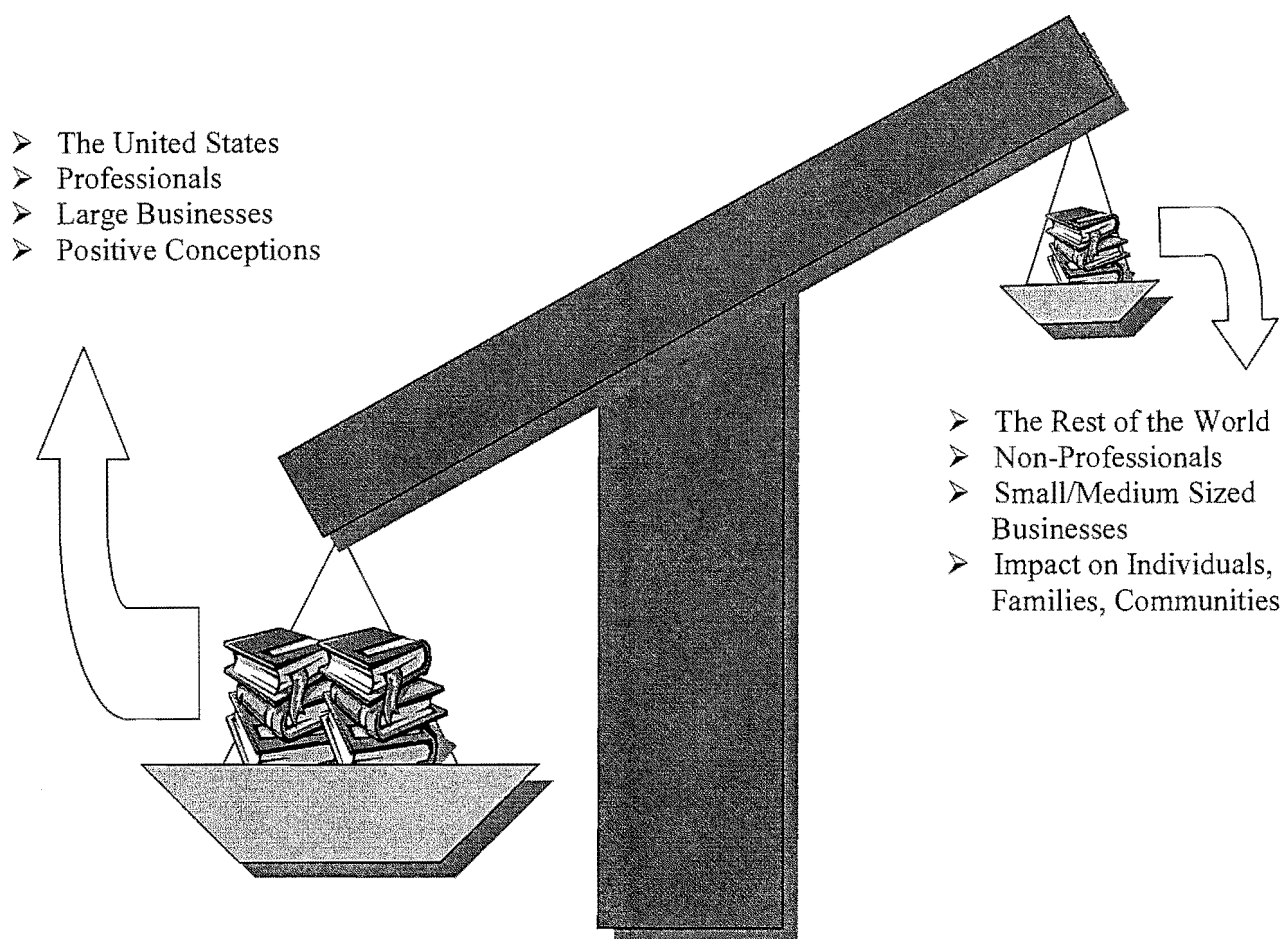
The way in which the psychological contract between firms and workers has altered is an additional topic that has been the focus of a variety of authors. Under the old contract, workers exchanged loyalty for job security, whereas under the new contract, workers seem to exchange performance for continuous learning and marketability (Altman and Post, 1996; Hall and Mirvis, 1996; Rousseau and Wade-Benzoni, 1995; Rousseau, 1989). This change in the psychological contract has resulted in decreased job security, (Batt, 1996; Beckman, 1996; Scott, O'Shaughnessy and Cappelli, 1996), decreased employee loyalty (Murrell, Frieze and Olson, 1996; Goffee and Scase, 1992), and increased worker cynicism (Kanter and Mirvis, 1989). Employees of the new age are much less likely to stay with a single company from the moment they enter the workforce until their retirement. Instead, they are more likely to receive their validation and build their reputation in cross-company settings. After offering their services to a particular company for a few years, they look for other greener pastures to harvest.

This may lead us, as Higgins (2001) suggests, to wonder how prepared today's workers are to navigate such a career environment successfully - how do the zigzag people, as referred to by Bateson (1994), decide where and when to zig or zag, particularly when, as Arthur and Rousseau (1996:370) note, "no norms and few models exist to tell us how to evaluate, plan, analyze, review, promote, or enact a boundaryless career". Hakim (1994) believes that change in our identity and perspectives as organisational members is necessary for us to flourish in this type of work world, but reiterates that there is little guidance available to help us attain the necessary competencies to transform our viewpoints.

How can we prepare today's workers to navigate this boundaryless environment successfully, how can we help people to decide where and when to zig or zag, and how can we provide the guidance necessary, when, as Sullivan (1999) notes, the literature tends to emphasise the positive aspects of boundaryless careers and neglects the potential problems associated with this type of career. Similarly, as Hirsch and Shanley (1996) suggest, focusing on boundaryless careers in terms of opportunity, empowerment, freedom, and the dynamism of entrepreneurs glosses over the serious and difficult career problems the new organisational era poses for long-term career employees. This lack of critical evaluation regarding the effects boundaryless careers have on individuals, their families, and their communities, makes it almost impossible to effectively assist employees in adapting to the boundaryless career era. How can assistance be offered when the effects of boundaryless careers are glossed over? Moreover, the focus on professionals in large companies in America means that the boundaryless career concept does not adequately capture the working lives of many non-Americans. Consequently, if advice is given, it may not be of help.

Figure 1 illustrates that the literature focused on positive conceptions of the boundaryless careers of professionals in large companies in the United States far outweighs the literature on the boundaryless careers of non-professionals in small or medium sized businesses in the rest of the world, and the impact this type of career is having on individuals, families and communities. Greater attention needs to be paid to these understudied groups and to the impact of boundaryless careers. This thesis will begin to do this by providing insight into the effects of what boundaryless career literature appears to consider a 'non-professional' boundaryless career, that of dairy farming in a rural community in New Zealand. While dairy farming is only one of many careers that require attention in career literature, it is a start, a step in the right direction, towards developing a career theory that is more applicable to large segments of the population.

Figure 1: The Focus Of Boundaryless Career Literature



DAIRY FARMING AS A BOUNDARYLESS CAREER

It is in this area that I have a special personal interest. I reside in the small rural community of Culverden, which is situated 100 kilometres north of Christchurch. Culverden is located in the Amuri ward, of the Hurunui district, in the Canterbury region of New Zealand's South Island. The total population of the Amuri ward is 1815, comprising 1140 rural and 675 urban residents (Hurunui District Council, 2004). Culverden is a farming community in which dairy farming has become increasingly common in the last 20 years. Traditionally a pastoral area, widespread irrigation in the 1980s saw much of the land in Amuri converted to dairying, bringing an influx of sharemilkers and their families to the district.

Of particular interest is the 'boundaryless' nature of dairy farming. Many dairy farm employees move on after three years at one farm to gain further experience at another and this may occur several times (Career Services Rapuara, 2004). In this way, dairy farmers constitute what Parker (2002:123) refers to as contract workers – "people who undertake temporary rather than permanent job assignments". One reason for their frequency of movement therefore is the temporary employment contracts they are employed under, contracts which are generally of three-year tenure. Another is personal aspirations – in order to increase cow numbers, a dairy farmer will often need to move to another farm, one that is better equipped to carry more stock. Such movements bring the dairy farmer closer to what is the overall aim of many, farm ownership. It is interesting to note that age, marital status, number and age of children, and career stage do not appear to influence this movement. Due to the temporary contractual nature of this type of farming, the dairy farmer, regardless of age and regardless of whether the dairy farmer is single, married, has young children, children at primary, intermediate or high school, or adult children, movement between employers is frequent. Furthermore, whether they are in an early, mid or late career stage, they continue to move around. It is interesting to note that even for dairy farmers who are in a late career stage, that is, they have bought their own farm, movement is still relatively frequent. Thus, regardless of age, family, or career stage, movement between employers is a way of life for the dairy farmer. In this way, dairy farming can be considered to meet the definition of a boundaryless career - "... a sequence of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of a single employment setting" (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996:116).

Much of the research on dairy farming in New Zealand has been carried out by Fairweather and associates at the Agribusiness and Economics Research Unit at Lincoln University. Topics focused on include dairy farming attitudes and practices (1993), the way farms are organised (1994),

factors influencing changes in dairy farming practices (1985), and production, income, and expenditure of dairy farms (1993). Other researchers have looked at the changes that have occurred in rural communities in terms of farm sales, population size, number and size of farms, and types of farm ownership (Clutha Agricultural Development Board, 1997; Fairweather, 1989; Gegan and Anderson, 1984; Anderson and Moran, 1983; Crothers, 1980).

While researchers have focused on a range of topics, it appears that the effect of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming has been neglected. With such a major presence in New Zealand, it is surprising that researchers have not looked into this to see if or how it is affecting our people and communities. New Zealand is one of the top five dairy exporters in the world which supply around 90 percent of dairy products traded on the international market. The New Zealand dairy industry's major markets vary for different products. Britain and Europe are New Zealand's most valuable market for butter. The primary markets for casein and cheese are the United States, Japan, and Europe. New Zealand is the world's largest exporter of casein and caseinate products. New Zealand's most important milk powder markets are in Central and South America and South-East Asia (Statistics New Zealand, 2004).

As an important segment of the international economy, the impact of the dairy industry has considerable significance for New Zealand as well as other countries. Thus, the issues covered in this thesis may be of international significance, potentially applying beyond the occupation of dairy farming and beyond the country of New Zealand.

IMPACT OF BOUNDARYLESS CAREERS

As noted by Sullivan (1999), the literature on boundaryless careers tends to emphasise the positive aspects of these careers. Examples of aspects considered to be of great advantage to the individual experiencing this type of career include: portable skills, knowledge, and abilities across multiple firms (Baker and Aldrich, 1996; Bird, 1996; Arthur, Claman and DeFillippi, 1995); personal identification with meaningful work (Mirvis and Hall, 1996; Mohrman and Cohen, 1995); on-the-job action learning (McCall, Lombardo and Morrison, 1988); the development of multiple networks and peer learning relationships (Hall, 1996b; Kram, 1996; Raider and Burt, 1996); and individual responsibility for career management (Brousseau, Driver, Eneroth and Larsson, 1996; Hall, 1996b).

What the literature appears to neglect are the potential impacts of these aspects on the individual, the individual's family, and surrounding community. Inarguably, an individual with the aforementioned characteristics will be more flexible and thus better able to adapt when moving between different employment settings in the boundaryless environment, an environment characterised by high mobility. Nevertheless, in traditional thinking about careers, the general sentiment has been to view mobility as the exception, as something ideally to be avoided by both individuals and companies, as noise behind the norm of employment continuity. High mobility has been assumed to be bad, particularly for companies who, as a result, constantly need to replace lost skills and experience (Arthur, Inkson and Pringle, 1999). And what about the individual - how is this mobility affecting individuals in terms of their personal lives? With the literature portraying such a positive conception of boundaryless careers, one could not be blamed for believing that this type of career brings with it only benefits. However, while much of the literature neglects the potential problems associated with this career pattern, we cannot. We cannot neglect the impact this type of career is having on the people in our society.

As the career literature offers little in the way of explaining the effects of boundaryless careers, it seems appropriate to look to other fields for explanation. While career research tends to overlook potential contributions from other fields such as sociology, psychology, and economics, it appears that such fields may aid in expanding our understanding of the effects boundaryless careers may be having on individuals, families, and communities.

Localising Global Concepts: Effects of the Boundaryless Nature of Dairy Farming

As noted by Arthur, Inkson and Pringle (1999), present-day careers are characterised by high mobility. Dairy farming is no exception. As mentioned previously, many dairy farm employees move on after three years at one farm to gain further experience at another and this may occur several times (Career Services Rapuara, 2004). It is in this way that dairy farming meets the definition of a boundaryless career. The dairy farmer then is somewhat of what Arthur et al (1999) refer to as a 'wandering troubadour'. The troubadour moves from company to company, gains fresh experience, shares talents with others, and then moves on. Similarly, the dairy farmer moves from farm to farm, gaining new skills and knowledge, sharing abilities with the employer and fellow employees, before moving on to another farm to gain further experience. While some dairy farmers shift to a location within the same area, many move to a new district. Such movements are likely to have significant implications for the individual, family and community.

Impact on the Individual and Family

Moving is stressful for anyone, of any age, under any circumstance. Handling emotional and personal changes, family changes, and children's transitions, not to mention the physical aspects of packing and unpacking, is difficult even when the move is positive (Family Housing Fund, 2004). Empirical studies conducted on moving have tended to focus more on the causes than the consequences of such movement (Rodgers, 2000) and thus offer little insight into the potential impact of the boundaryless career environment on individuals and their families. Economic, sociological, psychological and other social science literature however, by way of the concept of migration, provides some insight into the benefits and costs of moving, and in this way may aid in expanding our understanding of the impact of boundaryless careers.

Migration involves a change of usual residence by a person, family or household (Stillwell and Congdon, 1991). The concept of migration is inherently geographical as a change of residence necessitates movement from one location to another. This geographical interaction may occur over very short distances or across much longer distances. Regardless, it is the change of residence either temporarily or permanently, that is the essential characteristic of migration (Mahbub, 1986). As boundaryless careers often require a temporary or permanent change of residence, the concept of migration may indeed prove significant in examining the impact of a dairy farming career.

Migration is undertaken for many reasons, over varying distances, on a range of timescales, and is a fundamental feature of human societies today (Pooley and Whyte, 1991). Long (1988) notes that any consideration of migration involves posing certain fundamental questions about the migrants and the nature of their movements - how much, who, where, why, with what effect? He goes on to suggest that demographers are probably best at measuring how much migration occurs and who participates, at least in terms of characteristics of persons commonly measured in censuses and surveys and that a geographer's skills can help answer where migrants come from, where they go, and the spatial aspects of migration decision making. The last two questions, why and with what effect, are the most complex and it is this final question that is the focus of this thesis. Identifying the effects of people's mobility requires the skills and insights of economists, sociologists, psychologists, and numerous other social scientists.

Labour economists typically model moving as an investment in human capital, undertaken only if the benefits exceed the costs (Jones, 1992; Borjas, 1987; Nakosteen and Zimmer, 1980). The pecuniary benefits are mostly long term - the resulting increase in lifetime earnings of movers and their families net of any temporary income loss. The monetary costs are mostly short term - the direct costs of transporting family and belongings to the new location. There may also be non-monetary benefits, such as access to a more pleasant environment, and non-monetary costs, such as time required to learn about the new location, loss of social and family support groups, and disruption to children's schooling (Rodgers, 2000). Families experience upheaval and loss in leaving behind surroundings and people they know. While the members of a family migrating as a unit do have each other, there is emotional strain in leaving behind other family members and friends, and the support they offer (Robson, 1978).

It is such non-monetary costs that boundaryless career literature overlooks. With respect to dairy farming, the individual and the individual's family need to learn about the new area, about the services and facilities available, and the norms of the community. Moreover, they are likely to have left behind family and good friends and will need to get to know the locals and make new friends in what are likely to be unfamiliar surroundings. This may be a very difficult time for the family, a time of stress and insecurity - they are in a different house, on a different farm, in different surroundings.

The career orientation of the dairy farmer's partner may further complicate matters. With the increasing commonality of dual-employed couples (Blossfeld and Drobnic, 2001), it is likely that this type of relationship will play an influential part in migratory decision-making. At present, as

with non-farm households, many farm households are pursuing more than one career (Anonymous, 2002) and thus dual-employed couples are a reality in today's rural societies.

Dual-career couples form a unique subset of dual-employed couples. Both members of dual-career couples are highly committed to their careers and view work as essential to their psychological sense of self and as integral to their personal identities. They see employment as part of a career path involving progressively more responsibility, power, and financial remuneration. Dual-earner couples and other couples where both partners are employed may define their employment as relating to rewards such as money for paying bills, an opportunity to keep busy, or an additional resource to 'help out' rather than as an integral element of their self-definitions (Stoltz-Loike, 1992).

Life in a dual-employed household can have both advantages and disadvantages. In terms of rewarding aspects, both partners may derive a sense of autonomy and fulfilment from their work, such that neither feels unduly reliant upon, or outstripped by, the other. Furthermore, household income is usually considerably greater than it would be if only one partner was working which may bring welcome 'extras' to the partners' lives or may allow them to keep their heads above water in financial terms. In addition, if there are children, the parents may have more equal relationships with them than if one was out working and the other at home all day (Arnold, 1997).

At the same time however, most members of dual-employed couples can identify major difficulties associated with this way of living. Whose career, for example, is to be interrupted to raise children? Stoltz-Loike (1992) suggests that men or women may choose to forego marriage or childbirth because of career issues. Recent empirical evidence, however, suggests that many women are delaying rather than abandoning marriage and childbirth (Crompton, 2003).

Another issue that McLennan (1997) raises is that of location - what happens if one partner can enhance his or her career by moving to an area far away from where the other is located? Given the boundaryless nature of dairy farming, this issue of location is highly significant. As noted previously, taking on another employment contract or increasing cow numbers will more often than not involve movement to another location. But what of the partner's career? Greenhaus, Callanan and Godshalk (2000) suggest that the partner whose career takes priority will make fewer career accommodations and will pursue his or her career more intensely than the other partner. If it is dairy farming that is considered to be the priority career, and relocation is to a small rural community, the partner's career may be heavily impeded, perhaps even ended.

Finding a position of choice or moving from a current position may very well be the most difficult issue for members of dual-employed families. Finding two equally attractive job offers

within reasonable geographic proximity in a desired locale often proves impossible, and the more flexible partner often compromises, either by design or by necessity (Albino-Gilbert, 1993). Moreover, although couples often wish to give equal weight to the interests of both partners, in reality, locations or relocations among heterosexual couples are often based on the male's opportunities – either because male dominance prevailed or because various factors associated with gender made a strictly egalitarian decision impossible (Bird and Bird, 1985; Gilbert, 1985). This view is consistent with Thompson and Walker (1989:58) who suggest, “when push comes to shove, women accommodate to men's careers more than men accommodate to women's careers”. Arnold's (1997) findings also support this view, suggesting that the male's career often takes precedence. Further research indicates that women are unlikely to relocate for their own careers but are likely to disrupt their careers in order for their husbands to relocate (Silberstein, 1992). Research to date thus suggests that dual-employed wives will often adapt their career paths to accommodate their husbands' careers.

The question then is how much will women compromise their career ambitions to accommodate their husband's careers and family demands? And more importantly, with a consistent pattern of results suggesting that the wives' job opportunities have carried considerably less weight than their husbands' in determining the couple's geographic location, do women feel that they de-escalate their career ambitions by choice or out of necessity?

Another area that is of considerable interest with respect to moving is children's schooling. Moving can be extremely stressful for the children, who are likely to have to attend a new school and face the difficulty of trying to fit in at that new school. This issue of the disruption to children's schooling is an extremely significant one, particularly with mobility being a characteristic of dairy farming life, and the schooling status of children not appearing to influence this mobility.

In the past, understanding of the relationship between mobility and school achievement has been reasonably limited, with researchers in the United States and Australia being divided on whether mobility impacts on students' school achievement (Henderson, 2002). Some have argued that student mobility leads to a range of negative effects, including disrupted social and academic development (Fields, 1995; Birch and Lally, 1994; Welch, 1987), lower achievement levels (Ingersoll, Scamman and Eckerling, 1988; Robson, 1978), delayed progression from one year level to the next (Rahmani, 1985), and high school dropout (Rumberger and Larson, 1998). In contrast, others suggest that the effects of mobility on school achievement are either minimal (Evans, 1996) or cannot be distinguished from the effects of other factors, such as poverty, unemployment,

ethnicity (Pribesh and Downey, 1999; Wright, 1999; Duffy, 1987), increased isolation or loss of social support (Eckenrode, Rowe, Laird and Braithwaite, 1995).

However, while some research on the relationship between mobility and school achievement has presented contradictory findings, there is a growing body of Australian research that is attempting to identify and understand some of the complexities of the mobility-school relationship (Henderson, 2002). This research is focusing on particular groups that are occupationally mobile, including issues relating to show and circus children (Wyer, Thompson, Rose, Moriarty, Kindt, Hallinan and Danaher, 1998; Wyer, Danaher, Kindt and Moriarty, 1997; Moriarty, Danaher and Hallinan, 1996; Danaher, 1998, 1995, 1994) and schooling issues relevant to the children of farm workers (Henderson, 2002).

Consistent with traditional career thinking about careers, a common thread through much of the available mobility-school relationship research is that mobility is generally regarded negatively (Moriarty and Danaher, 1998; Settles, 1993). There certainly seems to be widespread belief amongst teachers and parents that mobility adversely affects children's educational achievements (Queensland Department of Education, 2000; McCarthy, 1991; Duffy, 1987; Mills, 1986).

In Henderson's (2002) study, mobile students and their parents identified curriculum discontinuity as a major obstacle for educational success. One of the main reasons for curriculum discontinuity seemed to be the variations that existed in the established curriculum from school to school. Other reasons included students sometimes missing extended periods of school as a result of the time spent moving, and at times parents decided to take a holiday break with their family between harvesting seasons, which generally did not match school holidays.

The Kids Mobility Study, another recent study that focused on the mobility-school relationship, found that students who moved often had lower attendance rates. Furthermore, attendance levels were found to be important to achievement. Average reading scores for students who moved three or more times were half those of students who did not move. These findings were consistent with what had been found in local and national research (Family Housing Fund, 2004).

Dr. Karla Buerkle, in her doctoral thesis research at the University of Minnesota's Department of Educational Psychology, asked families about the impact of mobility on their children's adjustment and school performance. She focused on families with children in grades one to six, which are critical developmental years for children. Parents gave her permission to access student achievement and attendance records and to request psychological competence ratings from their children's teachers. Achievement scores for the students in Buerkle's study were low overall. However, based on student records, school-stable children had higher math scores than children who

had changed schools. Based on teacher ratings, students who were more school-stable also were rated as more competent in a range of psychological skills, especially in handling separation and independence, relaxing, and playing. The most stable children who had not changed residence in the previous year and a half showed the most positive indicators, both academic and psychological. The less stable the family, the more negative the indicators. Furthermore, Buerkle found that the more stable children had better attendance – noted as a predictor of stronger school performance in other studies, including the Hennepin County analysis and the aforementioned Kids Mobility Study (Family Housing Fund, 2004).

As is evident from these studies, the implications of moving for school-aged children are highly significant. The information provided by these studies is too important to ignore.

In summary, this literature review of the potential impact of boundaryless careers on the individual and family has covered three significant topics - the benefits and costs of moving, dual-employed couples and children's schooling. These topics leave me with a number of questions – What are the benefits and costs of a boundaryless career? Do people move only when the benefits exceed the costs? How are dual-employed couples affected by the boundaryless career era? Whose career is to be interrupted to raise children? What happens if one partner can enhance his or her career by moving to an area far away from where the other is located? How much will women compromise their career ambitions to accommodate their husband's careers and family demands? Do women feel that they de-escalate their career ambitions by choice or out of necessity? And what of children's schooling – with such strong evidence suggesting mobility affects children's achievement at school, how do parents justify the transiency of their boundaryless careers? It is through observation and interviews that I hope to find the answers to these questions.

Impact on the Community

As with the impact of boundaryless careers on the individual and family's personal lives, boundaryless career literature lacks explanation of the effect these types of careers may be having on communities. Thus again it is appropriate to look to other fields in an attempt to improve our understanding of what is happening in our communities.

The word community is very widely and persistently used. Traditionally it referred to a locality or place such as a neighbourhood. More recently, it has come to mean a relational interaction or social ties that draw people together (Duffy and Wong, 1996), a feeling of common

interest, purpose, identity and well-being, a feeling that is generally assumed to be of value (Carter, 1990). If this is the definition for community, what does it mean to have a sense of community?

Sense of community is the feeling of the relationship an individual holds for his or her community (Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger and Wandersman, 1984), or the personal knowledge that one has about belonging to a collective of others (Newbrough and Chavis, 1986). A sense of community is specifically thought to include four elements - membership, influence, integration, and a sense of emotional connection. As noted by McMillan and Chavis (1986), 'membership' means that people experience feelings of belonging in their community, 'influence' signifies that people feel they can make a difference in their communities, 'integration', or fulfilment of needs, suggests that members of the community believe that their needs will be met by resources available in the community, and 'emotional connection' implies that community members have and will share history, time, places, and experiences.

Movement to and from rural areas has been found to have a profound impact on the sense of community and community structures and is frequently held to be a major cause of division within rural communities (Crow, 1996). Hall (1987) suggests that the structure of a community has a major bearing on the attitudes and behaviour of its population. According to Trost (1998), this can be seen by contrasting well-established centres with more recently settled communities. In well-established centres there is a strong social bond between the residents. This bond has been built up over generations and is based upon their shared heritage (Hall, 1987). It is this type of bond that gives residents a strong community feeling and a commitment to their district. This bond is reflected in the support residents give to local organisations and businesses such as the local church, school, hotel, and general store, which many view as key points of contact between friends and neighbours. As noted by Fuller (1984) this is particularly true in the case of the local church and school which tend to be the key points of social exchange within a community. Residents believe these services and facilities play a central role in binding their community together. It is for these reasons that a strong social bond is important in a community.

In contrast, areas with a more mobile population tend to have fewer voluntary organisations as a lot of movement in communities contributes to breakdowns in community cohesion (Thorne, 1998). In this situation, residents have a lack of commitment and few ties with the local community (Trost, 1998) and as a result are less inclined to become involved in social activities. Consequently, a weak social framework develops. Furthermore, moving to a new locality by no means guarantees that opportunities to participate in community life will be forthcoming, and it is frequently the case

that newcomers become conscious of and involved in local social networks only gradually (Crow and Allan, 1994).

It is here that community classification becomes significant. Communities can be classified according to two broad sets of opposite factors - 'open-closed', where 'open' describes a tendency towards a state of willing reception of outside influences, including new inhabitants, and where 'closed' denotes a rejection of new ideas and hostility towards newcomers. The second set of factors are 'integration-disintegration' where 'integration' is viewed as the absence of disharmony in the village's institutional life and 'disintegration' the presence of disharmonies creating conflict. Combining the criteria gives four types: the open, integrated rural community; the closed, integrated rural community; the open, disintegrating rural community; the closed, disintegrating rural community (Carter, 1990) (see Appendix I).

The sociology of community provides numerous instances of disintegration through the systematic and deliberate exclusion of in-migrants by established local groups, and while such practices might be expected to break down over time, the process of accommodation can be a lengthy one. This was the situation in the midlands suburb of Winston Parva studied by Elias and Scotson (1965), in which the 'established' members of the community continued to stigmatise the most recent in-migrants as 'outsiders' and 'foreigners', notwithstanding their residence in the locality for a period of some twenty years. The contrast was between on the one hand those inhabitants who were "members of families who had lived in that neighbourhood for a fairly long time, who were established there as old residents, who felt that they belonged there and that the place belonged to them" (Crow and Allan, 1994:71) and on the other those relative newcomers who remained 'outsiders'.

The weak social framework that can develop as a result of such division in a community is likely to have a detrimental impact on local sporting and cultural groups, to the point where many of these voluntary organisations may cease to exist. Such groups are made up of different sections of the community. People meet through their dealings with these groups and networks are formed through them. The groups are also serving the purpose of supporting and guiding people so they are able to stay focused and motivated (Thorne, 1998).

Without such groups, belongingness and inclusion needs that are of great importance to many individuals and families in a community, may not be satisfied (Engleberg and Wynn, 2000). It is in this area that psychological literature becomes important. Two theories that are frequently cited in psychological literature – Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954) and Schutz's theory of interpersonal behaviour (1958) – have made significant contributions to understanding why people join groups.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1954) ranks critical needs in the following order - psychological, safety, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualisation. With respect to the joining of clubs, it is the belongingness needs that are the most relevant here. Belongingness refers to the desire people have to be liked. We create circles of friends by joining groups. Regardless of the group's purpose, people join groups to satisfy their need to belong and be loved. Schutz's theory of interpersonal behaviour (1958) concentrates on three interpersonal needs that most people share to some degree - the needs for inclusion, for control, and for affection. Schutz maintains that people join groups in order to satisfy one or more of these needs. It is the inclusion need that is most relevant with respect to joining clubs. Inclusion represents our need to belong, to be involved, and to be accepted.

These concepts are consistent with Ramsay's (1984) view that people feel a strong desire for companionship, and that affectionate human interaction is very important. As noted by Ramsay (1984), it is this desire for affection and companionship that has led to a high incidence of clubs, special purpose groups, lodges and the like in society. In 1973, Pitt (1973) depicted New Zealand as a nation of joiners. He found that in the country town of Tokoroa, nearly 200 leisure time organisations had been established and over 60 percent of the town's population belonged to some form of voluntary association. Although Tokoroa may be an atypical case, it does appear that New Zealanders' desire for companionship is reflected by the high incidence of club-joining. Currently, by international standards, New Zealand is an active nation - almost all New Zealanders, five years and over, take part in sport and leisure activities. In fact, 97 percent of the population (2.55 million), enjoy some form of sport or leisure activity over a year (SPARC In Aotearoa, 2004). At present, one half of adults in New Zealand belong to a club to play one or more of their chosen sports or activities (SPARC In Aotearoa, 2004).

The question is: if the support for local clubs dwindles, what implications will this have for satisfying needs of belongingness, inclusion and companionship that so many individuals and families in the community appear to have? What implications will this have for the community as a place to live? And what of the sense of community? The implications for the sense of community appear to be of significant importance particularly when, as Parker and Arthur (2000:100) note, "an objection sometimes raised to the boundaryless-career perspective...is that people need a sense of community in their lives". Again, I hope to answer these questions through observation and interviewing.

METHODOLOGY

The objective of this section is to determine the methods and procedures that are most appropriate for this study.

Nature of the Research

Research can be exploratory or descriptive in nature, or can be conducted to test hypotheses. Whether the research is exploratory, descriptive, or hypothesis testing, depends on the stage to which knowledge about the research topic has advanced (Cavana, Delahaye and Sekaran, 2000). Given that knowledge about this research topic is at a very primary stage, this research will be exploratory in nature. Exploratory research is, in essence, undertaken to better comprehend the nature of an issue that has been the subject of very few studies (Cavana et al, 2000). The impact of dairy farming on the individual, family and community is a topic that has been the subject of only one other inquiry, a conceptual paper I developed in 2002 entitled “Localising Boundaryless Career Literature: The Impact of Dairy Farming on the Individual, Family, and Community, in a Rural New Zealand Town”. In this paper, local views, and New Zealand and international literature, were combined in an attempt to raise awareness of the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals, families, and rural communities. It is from here that my master’s thesis has drawn its focus.

Research Approach

Cavana et al’s (2000) comparison of qualitative and quantitative research provides a useful means by which to determine the approach that is most appropriate for this research. It describes qualitative research as an approach in which reality is subjective and multiple, as seen by participants in the study. It is an approach that involves the researcher interacting with those being researched, one that is value-laden and biased, with values being made explicit to the reader. Conversely, quantitative research is described as an approach in which reality is objective and singular, with the researcher remaining independent of those being researched, and it being assumed that the research will be value-free and unbiased. In terms of concepts, qualitative research is in the form of themes, motifs, generalizations, and taxonomies, with data collected from only a few cases by way of words from documents, observations, and transcripts. Quantitative concepts in contrast, are in the form of

distinct variables, with data collected from a large amount of cases by way of numbers from precise measurement. With regard to analysis, qualitative research proceeds by extracting themes or generalisations from evidence and organising data to present a coherent, consistent picture, in contrast to quantitative research where analysis uses statistics, tables or charts, and discusses how what is shown relates to hypotheses.

Following examination of this description, a qualitative research method appears to be the most appropriate. This is due to this research revolving around a subjective and multiple reality, as seen by the research participants. Furthermore, this form of research looks to the human-as-an-instrument for the collection and analysis of data. Only a human can be responsive, adaptable and holistic so as to explore the atypical or idiosyncratic responses that surface during an interaction with a respondent (Cavana et al, 2000). Thus it will require myself, as the researcher, to place an emphasis on understanding through closely examining people's words, actions, and records. This type of understanding cannot be achieved by remaining independent of those being researched, and therefore will require close interaction with research participants. As a result of living and working in this community, my own values and biases may influence, distract from, or enhance, my interpretations of these interactions. These values and biases will be made explicit to ensure the reader understands my position from the beginning. Following data collection by way of observations and interviews with research participants in the Culverden community, I will endeavour to extract themes and make generalisations about what has emerged. The goal of qualitative research after all, is to discover the patterns that emerge after close observation, careful documentation, and thoughtful analysis (Cavana et al, 2000).

This thesis will therefore use qualitative research methods to determine the impact the boundaryless nature of dairy farming is having on individuals, families, and communities.

Tradition of Inquiry

An ethnographic case study approach has been chosen as the most suitable for this research. Ethnography as a general term includes observation and interviewing. It is, however, often used in the more specific sense of a method that requires a researcher to spend a large amount of time observing a particular group of people, by sharing their way of life (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). The researcher, therefore, becomes a participant observer, one who is immersed in the day-to-day lives of those they are studying, not only through examining observable patterns of behaviour, but also through carrying out one-on-one interviews in order to find explanations for

observed behaviour. It is through such an approach that in-depth information is systematically gathered about an entity such as a community (Cavana et al, 2000). Furthermore, as Ticehurst and Veal (1999:95) identify, this type of research tends to concentrate on collecting a great deal of 'rich' information from relatively few people, and recognises a more fluid and recursive relationship among the various elements of the research.

The lengthy time period required to carry out an ethnography is recognised by many as a major disadvantage of this type of approach (Travers, 2001). Many researchers face difficulties in obtaining funding to spend long periods of time doing fieldwork, as is required in the ethnographic process. This is not a disadvantage in this instance however, as I have grown up in the community under study and am at present living and working in it. Consequently, I do not need to apply for funding, nor do I need to spend an extended period of time immersing myself in an unfamiliar community. Instead, what is required of me, is to make a conscious effort to take note of what is occurring around me, and from there, to delve further into observable behaviour by way of interviews.

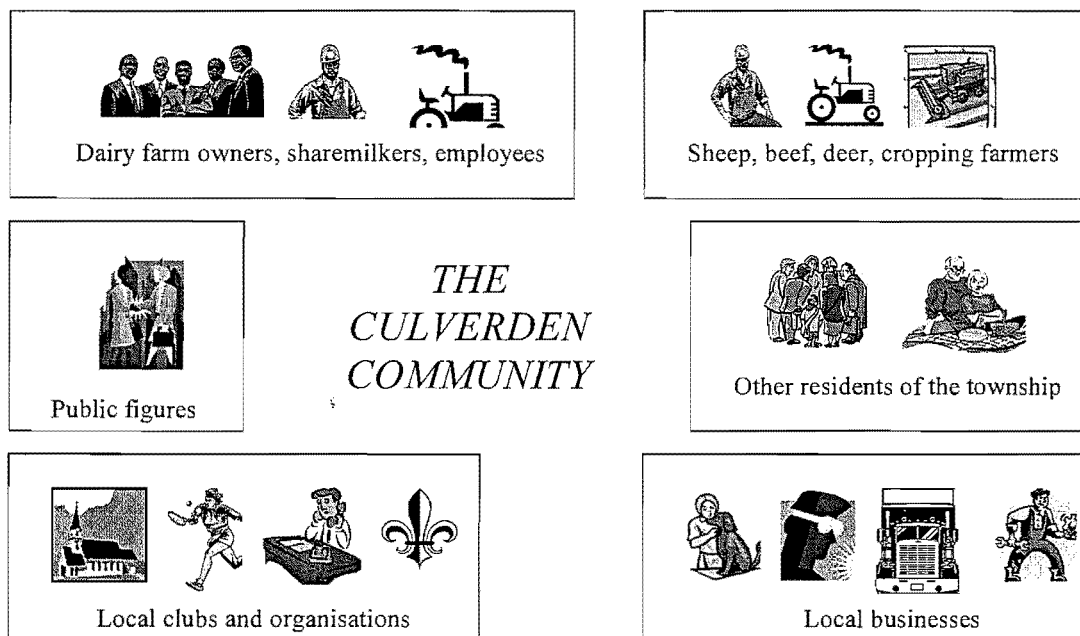
It should be noted that while this type of approach is participative in that the researcher involves themselves in the lives of those under study, it differs significantly from participative action research or inquiry approaches as it does not bring about action and change during the research process. The goal of ethnographic research is instead to produce knowledge and understanding. This knowledge and understanding that is achieved through the ethnographic process may then be used to bring about action and change.

Sampling

Purposive sampling, a non-probability method, will be used to obtain the data required for this study. In non-probability sampling designs, the elements in the population have no probability attached to their being chosen as sample subjects, and thus the findings of the study cannot be confidently generalised to the population (Cavana et al, 2000). In this instance however, this is by no means a limitation. As Creswell (1994:110) notes, "in virtually all instances, case studies use not only purposive sampling of sites, but purposive sampling of informants and experiences". Ethnographic case study approaches therefore are not expected to be confidently generalisable. Furthermore, purposive sampling is the only viable sampling method for obtaining information from those who can provide expert knowledge. Such people are a rich data source. The specific purposive non-probability method that will be used in this thesis is judgement sampling. Judgement sampling

involves the choice of subjects who are in the best position to provide the information required (Cavana et al, 2000). In this instance, for example, I will need to find out how local clubs and organisations including the school, church, and sporting and cultural clubs, have been influenced by the transient dairy farming population. The only people who can give first-hand information in this case are those that are involved with such organisations. Through their involvement, they might be expected to have expert knowledge and perhaps be able to provide valuable data or information for the study. Furthermore, it is expected that each subgroup will be affected in a different way. In addition to those who are involved with local clubs and organisations, I will need to approach the people who make up the other subgroups of the Culverden community – the dairy farm owners, dairy farm sharemilkers, dairy farm employees, sheep, beef, deer, and cropping farmers, public figures, owners and employees of local businesses, and other residents of the township (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Subgroups Of The Culverden Community



I intend to investigate how each of these subgroups is impacted by a population that frequently changes. In order to select potential interviewees from each subgroup, I will construct a table that notes the names of people from different subgroups and the reasons why they would make a valuable interviewee. My final selection will come down to the person's choice of whether or not

they would like to participate in an interview. It is anticipated that the inclusion of these community members will help me to paint a realistic picture of the Culverden community, one that represents all relevant subgroups of the population of interest in the form of an ethnographic case study.

It is anticipated that through their involvement in this research, participants will be prompted to recognise their own responses to changing circumstances, to reflect on these changes that are occurring around them, and to see a bigger picture, one that helps them to understand the changes they themselves are experiencing as well as the changes those around them are experiencing. It is through local, community-based recognition and definition of issues, that communities can be empowered to act and to find locally appropriate solutions to the challenges they face (Levett and Pomeroy, 1997). With respect to the Culverden community, it is anticipated that this research will have practical significance by raising awareness as to how the boundaryless dairy farming lifestyle may be impacting rural people and their communities. It is hoped that this awareness may help in the development of strategies to address problems that are occurring as a result of dairy farming as well as to take advantage of the opportunities dairy farming creates. This research then could assist in minimising adverse impacts in the local community and exploiting opportunities. In this way, this thesis has the potential to play a crucial role in the maintenance of a cohesive, sustainable rural community. After all, the purpose of research is, as the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee suggests, “to produce evolving understanding and information which may improve the situation of human beings” (University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, 2001:1).

Data Collection

Data will be collected by way of two qualitative ethnographic methods – observation and interviewing. In the first instance, individuals will be observed in their natural environment. Their activities, behaviours, and other points of interest, will be recorded. The observations will be structured observational studies in which sets of categories of activities will be predetermined. A structured observational study has been chosen over an unstructured one due to my conceptual paper, literature review, and personal experience, having provided insight into particular aspects that need focus. Living and working in the community already, means that I will take on the role of a participant-observer. As a result, the major disadvantages of observational studies are overcome. The need for the observer to be physically present for prolonged periods of time, data collection being slow, and consequently there being a risk of observer fatigue setting in, can be viewed as drawbacks of an observational method. However, as I live and work in this area, I am constantly

involved with different members of the community at different times and through a range of activities. Thus all that is required is to consciously take note of what is occurring around me. In addition, I can recall specific observations I have made in the past, as well as conversations I have had, which are also likely to be of value in my data collection. Furthermore, while respondent bias can pose a threat to the validity of the results due to those being observed behaving differently during the period the study is conducted, the subjects will be unaware that I am observing them. Thus this limitation of observational studies will also be avoided.

It is expected that significant areas of interest will surface from observational field notes. Key informant interviews will then be carried out to delve further into these areas of interest and to check the accuracy of my observations. Interviewing thus plays a very important role in ethnographic research. It is from such interviews that thick descriptions of a cultural or topical arena are obtained (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Furthermore, the interview provides a unique opportunity to uncover rich and complex information from an individual. The face-to-face interactive process can, under the guidance of an experienced interviewer, encourage the interviewee to share intrinsic opinions and to dredge previously unthought-of memories from the unconscious mind (Cavana et al, 2000). It is this type of data that will be required to provide insight into the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming.

The interviews conducted will be of a semi-structured nature. The interaction will commence as a structured interview with planned questions to elicit demographic information, such as age, occupation, partner's occupation, number and age of children, and time resided in the area. The interviewee will then be asked to give a brief account of their work history, detailing the jobs they have had, where they have worked, and the number of times they have moved, if any. If the interviewee has moved, they will be asked to identify the reason for their move and the impact of this movement on themselves, their family, and their community. The interviewee will also be asked to explain how they participate in the community and to give details of any local clubs or organisations they might be involved with.

At this point the interview will become less structured in nature. I will briefly explain the concept of boundaryless careers and how dairy farming meets the definition of a boundaryless career. The interviewee will then be presented with the primary overall question regarding the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals, families, and the community. It is expected that some interviewees, particularly the dairy farmers who appear to have very positive attitudes towards their careers, will focus on and speak openly of the positive aspects of their careers. However as the aim of this thesis is to provide insight into both positive and negative

impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming, it is anticipated that I will need to carefully prompt these interviewees to speak of the negative aspects their careers might present. This will allow me to present findings that provide a more accurate representation of reality. From here, I will manage the interview process by using my interview skills to elicit information specific to the subgroup the interviewee belongs to. For example, when speaking to someone who is involved with the local school, I will find out if or how the school roll has altered over past years and whether this can be attributed to the influx of the transient dairy farming population.

At this point I will also delve further into significant issues that have arisen in the observation and at the same time ask questions to check the accuracy of the observations I have made. When it appears that I have elicited as much information as I can, I will turn to a checklist of planned general questions that I consider need to be addressed as a result of carrying out my literature review. These questions will be asked only if they have not been covered during the course of the interview. They will be asked regardless of subgroup, based on defined, pre-identified topics, including the effect the boundaryless nature of dairy farming has on dual-employed couples, on children's schooling, and on the attitudes and behaviours of people in the community. Finally, interviewees will be asked to classify the Culverden community according to one of four types (see Appendix II). The answers to these interview questions will allow me to determine whether the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the individual, the family, and the community, is positive, negative, or a combination of both.

It should be noted that had I not written the conceptual paper and not lived in the Culverden community since birth, I would have chosen a structured interview. However, as I know a reasonable amount of information about which issues are significant as a result of my conceptual paper and personal experience, and have some interviewing experience, semi-structured interviews are the most appropriate.

Each interview will be tape-recorded. There are three main reasons for this. Firstly, taping will allow full attention to be paid to the interview subject as opposed to being distracted through taking notes as the subject speaks. Secondly, the interview process is likely to be less time consuming, as it will be allowed to flow without interruption. Thirdly, coding is affected by the precision of the interview data. For example, in taking written notes, words may be paraphrased in places for speed. As a result, caution must be taken in analysing the interview subject's word choices, as what has been written down may be a paraphrase and not the interview subject's words at all (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Taping will therefore aid in the collection of more accurate data than the writing of notes would.

As mentioned in the sampling section, the research participants will be members of the various subgroups that make up the Culverden community - dairy farm owners, dairy farm sharemilkers, dairy farm employees, sheep, beef, deer, and cropping farmers, public figures, owners of local businesses, members of local organisations including the school, church, and sporting and cultural clubs, as well as other residents of the township. Being a member of the community myself, I can easily identify these individuals. I will contact them by telephone to find out whether they are interested in participating in an interview. If so, I will arrange an interview time and place with them. With regard to the number of participants I intend to recruit, I cannot at this particular point in time give an exact outer limit, as I do not yet know when I will reach a saturation of data. Nevertheless, I do not anticipate interviewing more than 50 people in total, due to time and cost constraints.

Data Analysis

As noted previously, data collection will be through semi-structured interviews and structured observation, in which a pre-planned interview and observation guide will be used to explore certain specific topics. These cue questions will automatically provide themes for initial analysis of the data gathered. There is however, likely to be a large degree of variety within each of the pre-planned questions, and thus various sub-themes within each of the responses will need to be uncovered. Content analysis will be used to uncover these sub-themes. Content analysis is the process of identifying, coding, and categorizing, the primary patterns in the data (Patton, 1990). NUD*IST Vivo (Nvivo), a dynamic decision support computer package, will be used to as a tool to aid in the carrying out of my content analysis. Through providing an index system in which I can code and categorise the data collected, Nvivo will allow me to quantify my findings in terms of percentages and as a result determine the relative significance of each theme or sub-theme that emerges.

Quality Standards

In order to achieve accuracy and replicability in the findings of this thesis, attention will be paid to a number of important aspects as suggested by Burns (1994) and Neuman (1997): trustworthiness; verification; acknowledging subjectivity and bias; interpretation; and transparency.

In terms of trustworthiness, I will endeavour to observe, report, and interpret, this complex field experience as accurately and faithfully as possible.

With regard to verification, I will endeavour to ensure that my research accurately reflects the evidence, through using checks on my evidence and interpretations. As noted by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), two methods for improving the quality of data and accuracy of ethnographic findings include triangulation and member checking. Cohen and Manion (1989) suggest three types of triangulation: researcher-subject corroboration, which involves cross-checking the meaning of data between the researcher and the respondent; confirmation from other sources about specific issues or events identified; and the use of two or more methods of data collection with the resultant interpretations being compared. In terms of member checking, Stake (1995) recommends that the researcher ask participants to examine drafts of writing in which the actions or words of the participant are featured, typically after data collection. In this way, it is ensured that the research participant's point of view is accurately portrayed. After all, as Spindler and Spindler (1987:20) emphasise, the most important requirement for an ethnographic account is to explain behaviour from the "native's point of view". Triangulation and member checking will thus be employed in this thesis.

In terms of subjectivity and bias, I will assume that it is impossible to eliminate the effect of my own bias and subjectivity, and will instead acknowledge it. As suggested by Merriam (1988), clarifying researcher bias from the outset of the study is important so that the reader understands the researcher's position and any biases or assumptions that may impact the inquiry. As such, I aim to take advantage of my personal insights, feelings, and values, whilst using two techniques to limit contamination suggested by Cavana et al (2000). Firstly, I will take measures to guard against inappropriate personal influences by being aware of my frames of reference, which may contaminate any analysis of the topic under investigation. Secondly, I will include a brief description of myself and of the different roles I will be taking on in this study. I anticipate that doing so will help readers to become aware of relevant personal history that may influence my interpretations. The following three paragraphs provide this description.

As indicated in the section entitled Dairy Farming as a Boundaryless Career, I reside in the small rural community of Culverden. I am 23 years of age and was born and bred in the Culverden community. I have lived on a farm 17 kilometres from Culverden for the majority of my life, attending the local Amuri Area School for 13 years, and being involved with a variety of local clubs and organisations, including netball, tennis, touch rugby, squash, badminton, Brownies, and Girl Guides. I have returned to live in Culverden this year while completing my master's degree. This follows four years of living in Christchurch completing a Bachelor of Commerce degree with honours at the University of Canterbury. I have witnessed a major change in the Culverden

community in recent years, a change from what was predominantly a sheep and beef farming area, to what is now known also for its dairy farming. With the advent of the local irrigation scheme, many former sheep and beef farms have been converted into dairy farms, with these farmers being replaced by dairy farmers and their families.

In this study, I will take on a variety of roles: member of the community; participant-observer; and researcher. As such, I consider myself to be what Ellen (1984:129) describes as an “insider”, a researcher who carries out an ethnography on the community in which they live. While some argue against the insider working in his or her own society, it has also been argued that the aims and methods of research, especially in the case of intensive fieldwork, demand, at one and the same time, the qualities of an insider and those of an outsider (Ellen, 1984). The researcher becomes ideally so close to his or her host community that they understand their values and assumptions, and must, like a novelist, “get under the skin of the different characters he is writing about”, but equally, the ethnographer must have the detachment of the trained observer, must seek generalisation rather than anecdote, must remain faithful to scientific canons which gives validity to his or her presence in these other, often compelling and absorbing, surroundings. The tension between the need for both empathy and detachment is a problem facing all anthropologists and yet this is often forgotten by people who argue against the insider working in his or her own society, as opposed to the outsider, transplanted to an exotic setting (Srinivas, 1966:156). Aguilar (1981:22) points out in defence of the insider, that:

“Bias is the human condition, a danger for both insider and outsider researchers. Whereas the insider might labor under a biasing chauvinism, all outsiders, by virtue of the primary socialization in one society, must make efforts to overcome ethnocentric bias. Similarly, the xenophilia of some socially mobile or ethnically passing individuals is also a possibility for the exoticist (outsider) who sees much virtue abroad and little at home”.

Given this, I believe my role as an insider is not a disadvantage. Furthermore, I see myself as somewhat of a neutral insider, and believe others too will consider me to be such, in that my parents’ farm was originally sheep and beef and is now also grazing dairy cows.

As a safeguard to accuracy in interpretation, I will employ two techniques suggested by Cavana et al (2000). The first is, as noted in the Data Collection section, to report in the voice of the source by using the actual words of the respondent either in the phrasing of a sentence or verbatim

as an example of an opinion or fact. Secondly, I will report the logic of interpretation used to come to a particular conclusion.

Finally, in terms of transparency, it is hoped that this detailed description of the research process will aid in helping the reader to understand the source and theme of any interpretations made.

Ethical Issues

In order to proceed further, approval from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee is required to ensure that this work involving human participants is conducted with appropriate regard for ethical principles and cultural values. These principles and values include justice, safety, truthfulness, confidentiality, and respect. All such research must have the informed consent of participants, guarantee confidentiality of data and individuals, be sensitive to the needs and characteristics of participants, minimise harm to all participants, and avoid unnecessary deception (University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, 2001).

With respect to gaining informed consent, potential participants will be given an information sheet detailing the title, focus, and aim of the research, as well as both participant and researcher obligations (see Appendix III). They will then be invited to sign a consent form (see Appendix IV). A signature on this form will indicate agreement to participate as a subject in the project and consent to the publication of the results of the project, on the condition that at any time the research participant may withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information they have provided.

The results of the project may be published in the form of an academic publication. The information sheet provides information regarding the terms of confidentiality and anonymity, and states that all participants' needs for confidentiality will be discussed in advance. It will also be made clear to participants that anonymity cannot be assured at all times. This is because much of the time ethnographers know who their informants are, see them repeatedly, and are seen by others in the community while conducting interviews and observing community members. In addition, ethnographic accounts may contain descriptions of individuals or situations that, when read by others, can reveal the identities of respondents. For these reasons, ethnographers cannot assure participants of anonymity at all times. They can however make every effort to keep confidential the identity of specific individuals (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). In this instance, the following measures will be taken: where requested, the identity of participants will be concealed by, for

example, changing names and other identifiable factors, and in this way, sensitivity to the needs and characteristics of participants is being granted; interview audio-tapes, and any written information, will be stored in a locked file cabinet; the password to access typed information on a laptop will be changed every week for increased security and only myself and my supervisor will have access to any data collected; and transcribed interviews will be destroyed at the end of the project, unless I decide to carry out further study, in which case I'll go back to the research participants to ask for permission to continue to draw on the interviews.

These confidentiality and anonymity measures are in place to minimise harm to participants. While ethnographic research rarely involves the sorts of damaging consequences that may be involved in, for example, medical experiments on patients or physicists' investigations of nuclear fission, it can sometimes have important consequences, both for the people studied and for others (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Such consequences are the result of a practice that is unique to ethnographic research, that of interacting with people for long periods of time. This gives ethnographers considerably greater opportunity to learn secrets and intimate details of people's lives, and is precisely the kind of information that could cause people harm in their communities if it were disclosed (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

The information sheet also plays an important role in avoiding unnecessary deception. This is because it is through the information sheet that the ethnographer makes their presence known so that deception about the purpose or intent of the study is not practiced (Creswell, 1994).

A copy of the approval received from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee can be found in Appendix V.

OBSERVATIONS OF AND PARTICIPATION IN THE CULVERDEN COMMUNITY

This section provides details of my observations of, and participation in, the Culverden community.

Excitement, disorder, hustle and bustle, disruption, relaxation, new beginnings, and relief, are but some of the emotions being felt in the Culverden area at this time of the year. New, as well as current residents, are frantically awaiting the completion of their new houses, and at the same time preparing for the move from their existing residence. New faces are coming into the community while some of the familiar faces are moving on. Others are adjusting to more desirable work schedules, with many making plans for their holiday break.

These happenings occur around the same period of time each year. It is the end of May, the time when dairy farmers “dry off” their cows. It is the end of the milking season until calving begins in around eight weeks time in Culverden. Before proceeding further, let me introduce you to the Culverden community.

The Culverden Community

Known historically as a prosperous sheep raising district, Culverden was named by Henry Young, a retired judge from India, who was the first settler here. He acquired his run after Sir Edwin Dashwood had failed to stock his 122,000 hectares and offered it to Young and George Duppa. Folklore has it that the pair agreed to split the holding, the first choice going to whichever was the first to get sheep onto it. Young, having the stronger sheep, arrived first and chose the western half, naming it Culverden after a property he had once owned near Tunbridge Wells in Kent (The Canterbury Pages, 2004).

While still a prosperous sheep farming district, farming in Culverden has diversified. Not only sheep farms, but also beef, deer, cropping, and dairy farms, now comprise the farming community. In addition, there are a number of specialised farms including lamb and beef finishing, heifer and cow grazing, and winter grazing. Of the farming diversification that has taken place in Culverden, it is the diversification into dairy farming that appears to have made the most significant impression on the community. With the advent of local irrigation schemes in the early 1980's, a declining payout for sheep wool and meat, and a rise in dairy payouts, many sheep farms were sold as dairy conversions. From only 3 dairy farms in 1984, there are today approximately 46 dairy farms, with more being developed as I write. With such a major presence in Culverden, dairy farming has had a

significant impact on the subgroups that make up the community, including a variety of local businesses, the school, churches, and local clubs and organisations.

Now, back to the subject of the end of the milking season for the dairy farmers of the Culverden community. People are arriving, people are leaving, people are planning holiday breaks. It is a busy time for many dairy farmers. What needs to be realised however is that this “busyness” is not confined to the dairy farmers themselves. Many others in the community also appear to be affected in various ways at this time of the year.

I will now draw on some observations I have made and information I have learned during the time I have lived in the Culverden community. I have chosen to focus these observations around a specific time of the year, that in which the milking season comes to an end for approximately eight weeks. Doing so will allow me to present numerous observations in an organised story-like fashion that can be easily read and understood.

The Dairy Farmers Themselves

The end of the milking season appears to mean different things to different people, depending on what part or parts of the community they belong to. As noted earlier, this time of the year can be a busy one for dairy farmers, particularly with the ‘boundaryless’ nature of the dairy farming occupation. For some, the end of the milking season represents a time of movement, a time in which those whose employment contracts have ended, must move on to another farm. For others wanting to increase herd size, it is a time for moving onto a larger farm, one that can carry more stock units. Regardless of the reason for moving however, there are a number of implications that arise from the act of moving itself. Some dairy farmers have, in conversation, sighted a number of what they consider very positive implications of such movement. These have included being exposed to new challenges and opportunities, perhaps even promotions. In some cases this can enable the farmer to expand their business, increase their equity, or even allow a “free-up of time” in which the farmer, through promotion, is given responsibility to delegate tasks to other staff members, which they would once have carried out themselves.

As with most things however, there is a flipside. A number of negative implications of moving have also been identified in conversations with dairy farmers. Some have noted social costs of moving such as leaving friends behind and having to establish new ones, as well as added distance from family as their parents age. Others have described “the hassle of cleaning up accumulated bits and pieces” and “the stress and hard work related to moving itself - packing, cleaning, and

unpacking". Another major concern voiced by a dairy farmer was focused around gaining an understanding of the new area that they had moved into, as well as finding work for their spouse.

Other Farmers and Residents of the Township

At the same time that some of the dairy farmers are going through some major changes, others around them also appear to be experiencing change. For other farmers and residents of the township, this time of the year can be both a good and bad experience. In terms of it being a positive experience, the end of the milking season represents more frequent socialising for those whose friends are dairy farmers, as the dairy farmers have approximately eight weeks in which they are not required to milk early each morning. They are more likely therefore to want to go out with friends and have what one dairy farmer referred to in conversation as a "big night", rather than "a couple of quiet", or forgo the opportunity altogether due to an early start the next day. Furthermore, for those who enjoy meeting and mixing with new and different people, this time of the year can provide many opportunities to do so, as some of the existing dairy farmers move on and new ones move in.

On the other hand, it appears that some other farmers, including some of the dairy farmers themselves who have been here for a relatively long time, as well as some residents of the township, may find this time of year quite frustrating. This is because once again there are new faces moving into the community and once again existing residents will go through the ritual of introducing themselves to new neighbours and trying to make them feel welcome in an unfamiliar area. There are some however who have tired of this welcoming experience. A statement from a member of the community while in conversation with a group of others reflects this - "dairy farmers seem to get upset on June the 1st that we don't get excited by new people coming into the area and that we are not more welcoming. The thing is, it happens every year – you catch up with them when your paths cross". While other opinions are not on quite so harsh a scale, they do reflect what could perhaps be viewed as annoyance that the community composition is changing relatively regularly. As one person noted, "a few years ago I could have told you who lived in pretty much every house in this area. Now I have no idea, and so many of the farms have had a couple or three more houses built on them for workers, and that makes it even harder to keep track of who people are and where they live".

The School

With respect to the school, the “drying off” season can have both positive and negative ramifications. Overall, the school roll has increased since dairy farming has become more widespread in the Culverden community due to the farms that have been converted to dairy farms employing, on average, more staff than the previous farms did. The end of milking can often see new children going to school, as new families move into the community. This is perceived to be good in that it can increase the roll, but at the same time, it has its difficulties. As a community member has suggested, “children are moving midway through the year and teachers will have to determine what they have done in terms of schoolwork and work out a way to either catch them up on what they have missed out on or keep them occupied while their new class covers something that they have already covered at their previous school”. Furthermore, moving midway through the school year may result in children finding it even harder to settle in than if they had moved before school started, in that they are new to a classroom of students who have had almost half a year to get to know one another. In addition, it has been suggested that the standard and quality of children’s schoolwork can be affected detrimentally if they move frequently. As a community member noted, “this movement can result in children experiencing a significant amount of stress - they have to get to know new teachers and students and make new friends in an unfamiliar environment”. Another, however, believed that family stability and support would have a greater impact than mobility on children’s school achievement and that “the person most likely to succeed in the future is the one who adapts best to constant change because that is the way the world is heading...constant mobility is good grounding for children so long as the family unit is supportive”.

Another school issue that has been communicated by members of the community concerns the support for the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) and Board of Trustees (BOT) at the local school. Getting volunteers for the PTA and BOT has been noted as being more difficult in recent years due to what one person referred to as “a lack of stable long-term support from the community”. At the same time however, another community member noted that the PTA and BOT have always been poorly supported by parents and suggested that this is more related to the personalities of those living in the community than to anything else.

It should be noted also that while overall the number of dairy farmers in the area has increased the school roll, some of this population is at the same time transient. Thus, Culverden could be, as a member of the community suggested, at a stage where its population numbers are stabilising in that “as one family moves on, another comes in and takes its place”.

The Churches

With respect to the local churches in Culverden, it appears that the increase in the population as a result of an increase in dairy farming in the area has improved church attendance. As one community member noted, “there are definitely more people going to my church now than there were when I was younger, when there weren’t so many dairy farmers”.

Local Businesses

Local businesses are an example of a subgroup of the community that is affected significantly at the end of the milking season. The transport company for example is very busy at this time of the year. This is because when dairy farmers move they take their cows with them. Apart from when this move is just down the road, this will require the use of transport services. Furthermore, for those who are not moving, this time of the year will see their cows being sent to other properties for grazing, again requiring transport. Thus the end of the milking season is financially rewarding for the local transport service. It can however be frustrating for other farmers, and for dairy farmers themselves, in that as “it is so busy, it is hard to get a truck to do your job when you need it done”.

It has been suggested that a number of other local businesses appear to benefit financially when the milking season finishes. Commonly noted businesses include the tearooms, takeaways, plant nursery, second-hand clothing store, supply store, Pyne Gould Guinness, and Wrightsons. A commonly shared reason for this is that “at this time of the year dairy farmers have more time on their hands than they do when they are milking, more time to spend looking at the shops, and more time to spend money in those shops”.

Builders, it appears, do not seem to be influenced so much by the end of the milking season. As one of the local builders noted, “building houses and erecting milking sheds tend to be carried out regardless of the time of the year”. Nevertheless, dairying has definitely provided positive financial returns for the local builders through supplying more work in the community. In saying this however, while dairying has provided extra jobs for local builders, it has in some instances taken what could have been local business out of the area, with contractors from other areas, namely Christchurch, having built a number of houses and milking sheds around Culverden. Similarly, dairying appears to have looked to outside contractors for other jobs including engineering work, which has taken demand away from the local engineer.

For others in the community, such as the electrician and plumber, the end of the milking season signifies both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the electrician and plumber find that their businesses ease off. As the electrician noted, "I find I have a little more time on my hands as I'm not being called out to fix things that go wrong in the milking sheds". As a result, the electrician and plumber become more concentrated on fixing problems people have in their houses. This has financial implications however, with overall business easing off at this time, and thus less money being earned.

The local pub is another example of a business that is significantly influenced by the end of the milking season. At this time of the year the pub is regularly frequented by dairy farm employees, the majority of which are within the 18-25 age bracket. When milking begins again at the commencement of calving however, dairy farm employees are working very early mornings and long days, and are often too tired to spend their evenings at the pub. Pub patronage levels thus become very low.

Local Clubs and Organisations

While dairy farming has brought more people into the area, many of them stay for only a short time. This, in combination with dairy farming being what one dairy farmer referred to as "quite an antisocial occupation" due to the set milking hours that it requires and rosters that are for example, eight days on, two days off, meaning that dairy farmers do not have the same days off each week, are what a number of people feel have resulted in some organisations and activities in the community receiving significantly less support than they have in the past. A quote from a dairy farmer when asked by a friend if he would play for a particular club reflects this - "I can't commit to playing every Saturday, I only get a Saturday off now and then 'cos of the roster I'm on". With the exception of social sports including twilight netball, touch rugby and social tennis, which are played in the evenings, a number of people in the community believe that Culverden's sporting clubs have suffered as a result of the influx of dairy farmers to the community, some to the extent that they believe "dairy farming has ruined competitive sport in Culverden".

My family has been heavily involved with a number of sports teams over the years in a variety of roles - as players, club captains, and administrators. In the last twenty years, as dairying has become increasingly common in the Culverden area, we have seen the support for these teams dwindle. Competitive sports in particular, such as tennis, rugby, and cricket, appear to have suffered the most, with the demands of dairy farming preventing many dairy farmers from competing. In the

early 1980s, prior to the dairy farming influx, Culverden's competitive tennis club consisted of three teams of eight players, with each team comprising four males and four females, playing against surrounding teams in the district every Saturday afternoon. Today, this same club struggles every week to make up one team.

Culverden's rugby club is a further example of a local organisation that appears to have suffered drastically from the dairy farming influx. As a member of the community told me, "for years the rugby club had strong support from the community, fielding teams from the Under Nine level right up to the Senior level. Only a few years later, we can no longer field any of our own rugby teams, and have had to combine with others to get enough players to make up teams". It has been suggested that this trend is not representative of other towns in the district. As another community member pointed out, "Cheviot, which is mostly sheep and beef, has four tennis teams in this year's competition. This shows what dairying has done to Culverden's sports clubs".

On the other hand however, a dairy farmer, whilst agreeing that country rugby has declined over the last twenty or so years, believes this decline should not be attributed to dairying. Instead, he believes a number of other reasons underlie this decline, namely an increase in the mobility of people, and other choices of sport.

The local netball and squash clubs are examples of sports clubs that many consider to have benefited from the increased population that has resulted from the influx of dairy farmers. The majority of the netball club is made up of dairy farmers' wives and daughters, while the squash club involves a number of dairy farmers themselves, who can participate because competition is played at night.

In saying this however, we must not forget the influence of the end of the milking season. Both netball and squash, along with other winter sports that commence before the end of May, appear to struggle during the milking season break. This is because it is at this time when many dairy farmers go away on holiday. It is the one time of the year when they are not committed to milking day in and day out. One particular netball team is struggling for players the Saturday of a long weekend as a number of its team members, all of which are dairy farmers, have all organised to go on holiday at the same time. In squash the situation is similar, with some dairy farmers being unavailable to play during the milking break, some for periods of up to four weeks.

However, while this section so far portrays a dairy farmer as someone who does get involved frequently with sport, this view does not represent all dairy farmers. It should be noted that while many dairy farmers do not play competitive sport due to work commitments, there are a number who do. For some, this is because they are in charge of the farm and can arrange time off when they

need it. For others, it requires the arrangement of a relief milker, a person who can milk in their place, allowing them the opportunity to compete in daytime sport. It is however only a few dairy farmers who employ the use of a relief milker to allow them to play sport. This small number has led some people to believe that dairy farmers use milking as an excuse to not participate in the community. As one farmer put it, “if they really wanted to play sport they could, what’s stopping them from getting a relief milker?”

It is also important to note that some of the social sports, as mentioned earlier, including twilight netball and social tennis, which are played on summer evenings outside of milking hours, did not even exist prior to the dairy farming influx. In this year’s twilight netball competition, as well as the touch rugby competition, dairy farmers made up the majority of teams. It appears then that without their participation these competitions could not be run. Some people feel however that this is little compensation for the competitive sports that have suffered, particularly when “twilight netball and twilight tennis are only social”. Others feel that the twilight netball and tennis competitions are two of only very few examples of the community making adjustments to take advantage of its changed population. One dairy farmer posed the question, “if dairy has such a big influence on the community, what has the community and its clubs done or changed to meet their [the dairy farmers’] different requirements”? This is a very important question, one to which the answer could provide some very important information about the Culverden community and the way it has handled its changing population.

WHERE TO FROM HERE?

The focusing of these observations on a specific time of the year, that being the end of May when milking ceases for approximately eight weeks, has resulted in the surfacing of a range of significant issues. Consequently, I am now able to focus what, in the beginning, was a relatively broad research question - to determine the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals, families, and communities - into more specific research questions based on the significant issues that have surfaced. Determining what these observations tell me, which issues are contentious and require clarification, and what I have yet to find out, will help me to identify which people in the community I will need to interview and what I will need to find out from them.

What The Observations Have Told Me

Overall these observations suggest that the boundaryless nature of dairy farming does indeed have a significant impact on individuals, families, and the community. As a result of the dairy farming lifestyle, the individual may be able to exploit new opportunities frequently, but at the same time experience the stress of regular moves and the leaving behind of friends and family. The family may reap the benefits of promotion, but at the same time the partner may experience difficulty in finding another job, and the children may find it hard adjusting to their new school. The community's residents, school, church, businesses, clubs, and organisations, may benefit from fresh faces, new ideas, and more people, but at the same time lack the continual stable support of a permanent population. Given this, the boundaryless nature of dairy farming can thus be concluded to have both significant positive and negative impacts on individuals, families and the community. Therefore even before interviews have been conducted, observations appear to partially support prevailing literature by confirming the existence of a number of positive aspects of boundaryless careers. At the same time however, observations have identified a number of negative aspects that literature appears to overlook.

Contentious Views Requiring Clarification

It is interesting to note a number of conflicting views in the observations. With respect to the school for example, one view was that changing schools is a very stressful experience for children and overall will detrimentally affect the child's school achievement. A contradictory view was that

family stability and support would have a greater impact than mobility on children's school achievement and that "the person most likely to succeed in the future is the one who adapts best to constant change because that is the way the world is heading...constant mobility is good grounding for children so long as the family unit is supportive".

Another conflicting school issue was the reasoning behind the lack of support for the PTA and BOT. While one view implied that the difficulty of getting candidates was due to the transiency of the dairy farming population, and consequently a lack of stable, long-term support, another strongly believed that it was more related to the personalities of those living in the community than to anything else.

The reason behind the decline in support for the rugby club is a further issue of contention, with one view implying that the increase in dairying is the sole reason for the decline and another suggesting instead an increase in the mobility of people and other choices of sport as underlying reasons. Perhaps the mobility of people and dairying are one in the same - maybe it is the increase in dairying in the area that has increased the mobility of people?

It is through interviewing a number of people in the community that I hope to clarify these contentious issues.

What I Have Yet To Find Out Through Conducting Interviews

Having completed the observations, I have found there to be a number of issues that I would like to delve into further through interviewing. Moreover, the process of interviewing will allow me to cover aspects that have not or could not be covered through observation and at the same time ensure the accuracy of my observations. In addition to what is noted in the data collection section of the methodology, I would like to find out how locals view the community, how they describe it, what they like and do not like. I would also like to know what they would change to make the community more like their 'ideal' community. Furthermore, as a dairy farmer noted, "if dairy has such a big influence on the community, what has the community and its clubs done or changed to meet their [the dairy farmers'] different requirements"? The answer to this question would provide some important information on how the community has dealt with change. This issue of change brings me to another question – are dairy farmers bearing the brunt of a community resistant to change? Furthermore, why, when the observations have shown that there are both positive and negative impacts of dairying, are there so many negative generalisations made about dairy farmers? Are dairy farmers aware of these generalisations? Do they view them as unfair? I would also like to address

the following question which was raised in the observations - if dairy farmers really wanted to play sport they could, what's stopping them from getting a relief milker? And finally, it seems that through my own interest and enthusiasm for sporting clubs, I have overlooked the impact on other clubs and organisations in the community. I would therefore like to interview members of the community that are involved in these other clubs to find out what their views are on the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming.

Identification Of Interviewees

As is evident, interviewing local people has the potential to provide some very rich and important information. Furthermore, while some of these issues are of a general nature, others are very specific. As such, only particular people will be able to answer them. This is where my involvement in the local community becomes an advantage. As I live and work in the community, I know who to approach to find out this information. I intend to interview no more than 50 people in total, with the belief that I am likely to reach a saturation of data after interviewing this amount of people. While some interviews will be conducted on individuals, others will be conducted on couples in order to get a sense of the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the family. In determining who to interview, I have constructed a table in which I have noted each person and the reason why they can provide me with the information I need. These reasons are based on the subgroup of the community they belong to, their involvement in the community, their gender, their age, how long they have lived in Culverden, and the information their position gives them access to. This table has been omitted from the appendix in order to conceal the identity of interview participants.

It is anticipated that through interviewing local people in the community, accuracy of observations will be achieved, contentious issues clarified, and the answers to my questions provided.

FINDINGS OF THE INTERVIEWS

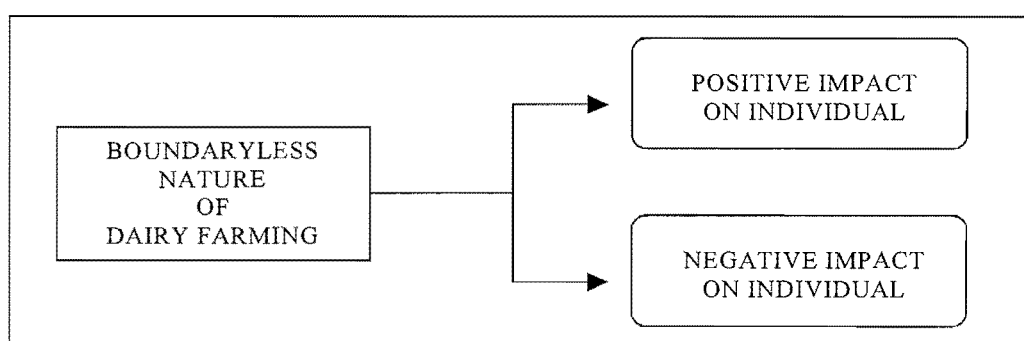
As anticipated, interviews with members of the various subgroups that make up the Culverden community - dairy farm owners, dairy farm sharemilkers, dairy farm employees, sheep, beef, deer, and cropping farmers, public figures, owners of local businesses, members of local organisations including the school, church, and sporting and cultural clubs, as well as other residents of the township, have indeed provided a very rich insight into the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals, families, and communities. Furthermore, they have been invaluable in providing a check on the accuracy of my observations and in providing information which has allowed me to clarify contentious views and determine the answers to questions that could not be provided through observation alone.

This section presents the findings of these interviews, looking firstly at the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals from the dairy farmers' perspective, and following this, at the impact on their family and community, from a combination of dairy farmers' perspectives and perspectives of others in the community.

Individual Findings

As indicated in Figure 2.1, the boundaryless nature of dairy farming can have both positive and negative impacts on an individual.

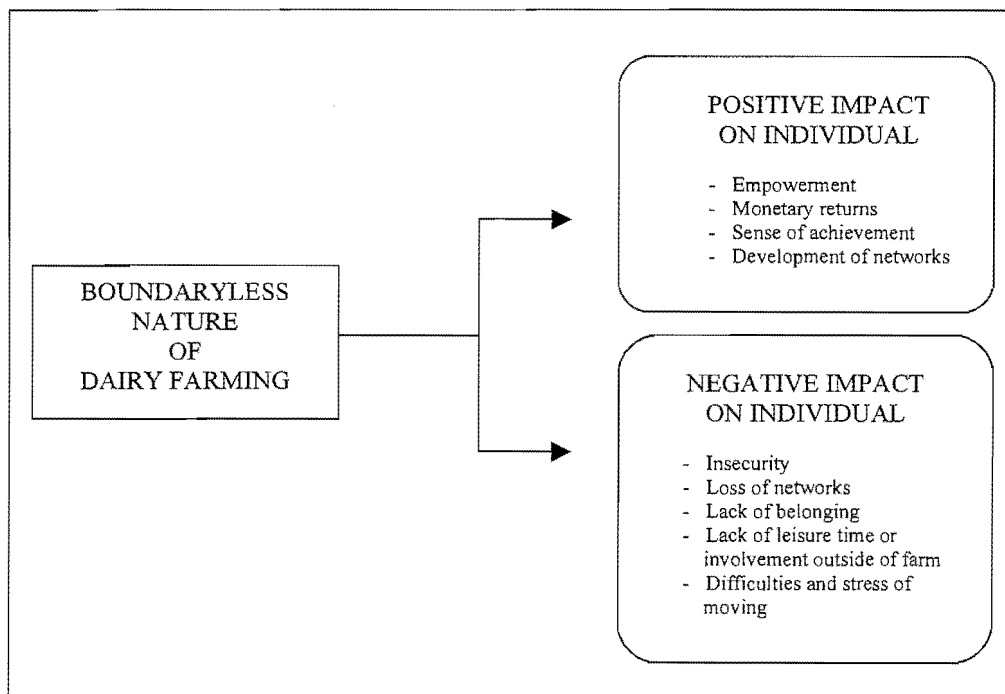
**Figure 2.1: Impact Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming
On Individual**



Positive and Negative Impacts of the Boundaryless Nature of Dairy Farming

The percentage of comments the dairy farmers made concerning the positive impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming were only slightly outweighed by the percentage of comments concerning the negative impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming (41% and 59% respectively). With respect to range, the positive comments were focused around four types of impact while the negative comments were focused around five types of impact (see Figure 2.2).

**Figure 2.2: Positive And Negative Impact Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming
On Individual**



Positive Impacts

Empowerment through the gaining of knowledge, skills, and experience, as well as the monetary returns from the dairying career, were the most commonly identified positive impacts. Interviewees felt that the knowledge, skills, and experience they gained from working for a number of employers

in a number of different employment settings had provided them with the ability and freedom to “organise [their] own life”, to “take advantage of numerous opportunities” and, most importantly, had broadened their vision and made their “life and lookout on life a lot wider”. Furthermore, the “good money returns” made this career a very viable one.

Sense of achievement and the development of both personal and business networks were also identified as positive impacts of this boundaryless career. Interviewees felt they were “continually achieving new goals” as they moved between different jobs. They also felt their transiency provided them with the “opportunity to meet so many new people”, both in their personal and business lives.

Negative Impacts

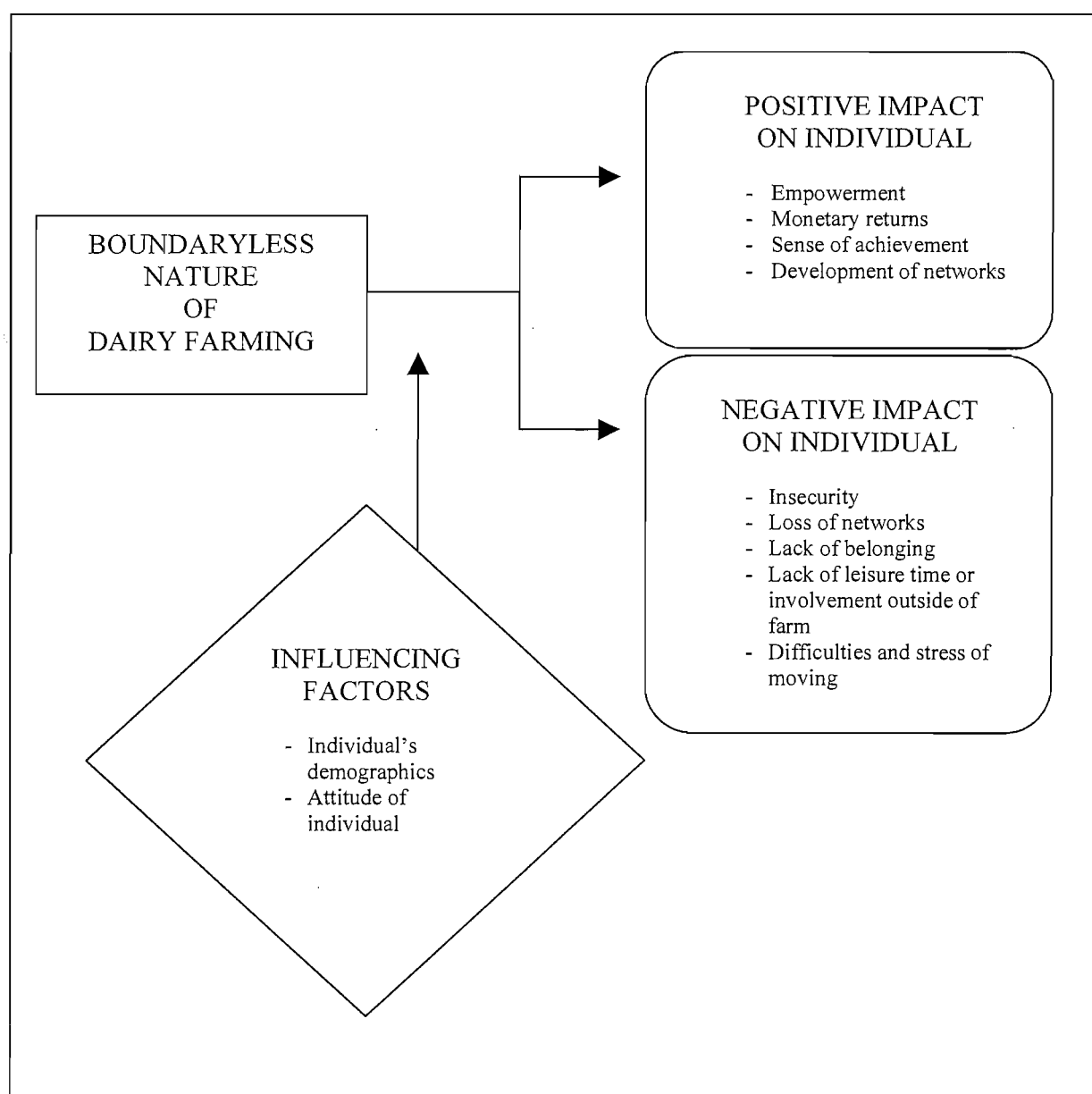
With respect to negative impacts of this type of career, insecurity, loss of networks, and a feeling of a lack of belonging, were the most common. Interviewees felt insecure as a direct result of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming, of the relatively temporary contracts that many of them are employed under. As interviewees noted, “moving is often not necessarily our choice”, “we might do a contract for three years and then we're not sure whether that will be renewed”. And, while as mentioned previously, the boundaryless nature of dairy farming can result in the development of both personal and business networks, at the same time it can result in the loss of these networks – “that's one of the things I look most up against if we have to move again is to get all these relations back, not only private but also with the business, if I need something for the farm I like to know who to ring”. The feeling of a lack of belonging was also a very significant issue, with interviewees finding it difficult to get to know people well, believing “it takes years before you really start to know people and it's a lot harder for us as transient people that come in and go”. Furthermore, it was felt “the time frame is too short, especially if you move on every two or three years, you never really get to know anybody who you can really relate to”.

Lack of leisure time or involvement outside of the farm, and the difficulties and stress of moving, were also identified as negative impacts of this boundaryless career. Interviewees felt that “dairying hours are very anti-social” and as a result gave them little opportunity to participate in local clubs and organisations. With respect to the difficulties and stress of moving, interviewees agreed that “the actual act of moving sucks”, particularly when moving at least every three years.

Influencing Factors

Two other factors surfaced in these interviews. These factors were the dairy farmers' demographics and the attitude of the dairy farmer to a number of different aspects in life – career, change, community and adventure. These factors were not positive or negative impacts as such, but instead appeared to have an influence on whether the individual experienced positive or negative impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Positive And Negative Impact And Influencing Factors Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming On Individual



With respect to demographics, the individual's age, gender, marital status, number of children, children's ages, job status, background (rural or urban) and the length of time they have resided in Culverden, were influencing factors. Before describing the influence of these factors, it is important to note what the interviews have shown about the demographic profile of the dairy farming interviewees, as this was not known at the time of writing the methodology, and as such is a finding of the interviews. The dairy farmers interviewed ranged in age from 21 to 65, with the most common age being 41. The number of males only slightly outweighed the number of females. The majority were married and had between 1 and 4 children between the ages of 14 weeks and 40 years, with the most common number of children being 2 or 3, and the most common age being 11. The job status ranged from a dairy farm worker to a dairy farm owner, with sharemilkers being the most common. More of these people were from an urban background than a rural background. Time resided in Culverden ranged between 3 and 45 years, with the most common being 3 years.

Each of these demographic factors appeared to have an influence on the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals. With respect to the demographics that resulted in positive impacts, some interviewees, both male and female, described the "freedom of being young and single", that it allowed them to "take up opportunities that cropped up without worrying about anyone else, like a partner or kids – if it suits me I can do it" and "if I'm offered more money somewhere else I'll up and move without a worry". Others however described the benefits of being married with children, "when I apply for a new job I've got a good chance over a single person who doesn't have any dependents because with a family I'm seen as less likely to up and go when the going gets tough than a single person who has no ties" and "through my wife and kids I have the opportunity to be involved with all sorts of different people". With respect to the demographics that resulted in negative impacts, some of the young, single, male and female lower order dairy farm workers from an urban background described a sense of insecurity about their jobs that resulted from a combination of "being young, lacking experience, and not having a significant stake in the farm – no cows or land of my own". Others described the difficulties associated with having a partner and family, "when I do have spare time I like to spend it with my wife and children so I don't get much of a chance to get out and meet people in the community" and "moving is a big deal when you've got a partner and kids to think about as well".

It appears therefore that these demographic factors can have varying degrees of influence on individuals and the type of impact they experience from the boundaryless nature of dairy farming.

The individual's attitude to career and change also appeared to be an influential factor with nearly all dairy farmers interviewed making comments on these themes. In terms of attitude to

career, interviewees felt “the main reason behind shifts between employers is career progression on the way to farm ownership”, and that moving around was a part of their profession. Overall they had a very positive attitude to career, believing that “the moves are steps forward”. With respect to change, interviewees had an open attitude, believing that “change is a part of life” as opposed to believing that change may be a threat to their way of life. Consequently, many felt “with threats come opportunities and people should view threats as such”. This type of attitude corresponds with positive impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming such as a sense of empowerment and achievement, as well as favourable monetary returns through taking on opportunities that arise. Their attitude to change with respect to children’s schooling however was not so open. Some felt “you move along, kids come along naturally, as a part of the family” and “children are enriched by these experiences”. Others noted that “having to make new friends can be hard for kids” and “moving can mean missing out on parts of the school’s curriculum, especially if schools cover the units in a different order”, reflecting negative impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming such as the difficulties and stress of moving.

Attitude to community was also an influencing factor. Overall, the attitude to community was divided. Some interviewees felt that their demanding career was their first priority and as a result time was scarce for community involvement. This type of attitude may result in the individual experiencing negative impacts such as a lack of leisure time and involvement outside of the farm, and consequently, a lack of belonging in the community. Others believed that while they had “a pretty busy business life, participating is important”, with some even feeling they had an obligation to get their staff involved in the community also, that they should “make it a point to open up their eyes to those opportunities”. This attitude is likely to result in positive impacts such as a development of networks through meeting new people.

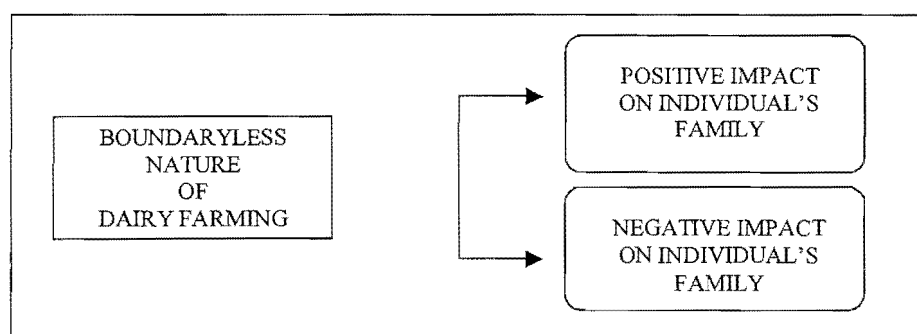
Attitude to adventure was another factor influencing how individuals are impacted by the boundaryless nature of dairy farming. The interviewees all exhibited an entrepreneurial nature, looking for “new challenges”, “trying new things”, and “stepping out of comfort zones”. This attitude corresponds with positive impacts such as empowerment and a sense of achievement through grasping opportunities and gaining new knowledge, skills, and experience, from doing so.

It appears therefore that the individual’s attitude to career, change, community, and adventure, can influence the type of impact individuals experience from the boundaryless nature of dairy farming.

Family Findings

In addition to the individual themselves, the boundaryless nature of dairy farming can have both positive and negative impacts on the dairy farmer's family (see Figure 3.1).

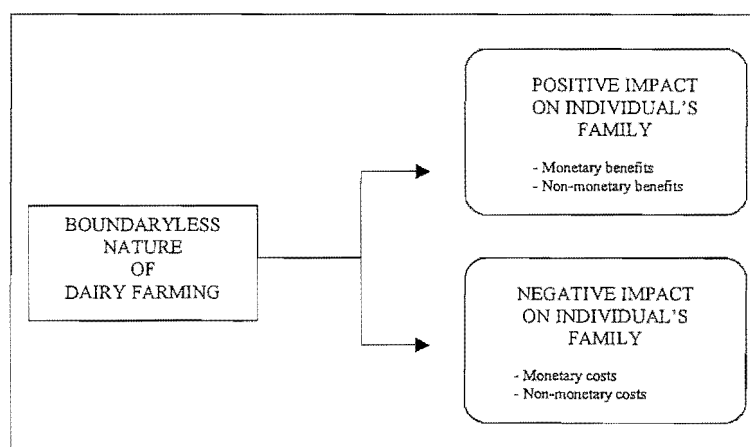
Figure 3.1: Impact Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming
On Family



Positive and Negative Impacts of the Boundaryless Nature of Dairy Farming

The percentage of comments made by dairy farmers and others in the community regarding the positive impacts of dairying on the individual's family, which includes their family as a whole, their partner, and their children, were more than tripled by the percentage of comments made regarding negative impacts of this boundaryless career on the family (24% and 76% respectively). Furthermore, the impacts on the family as a whole and on the partner were more frequently focused on than the impact on the children. Positive impacts were categorised into monetary and non-monetary benefits. Negative impacts were categorised into monetary and non-monetary costs (see Figure 3.2).

Figure3.2: Positive And Negative Impact Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming
On Family



Positive Impacts

Positive impacts were categorised into monetary and non-monetary benefits, with the percentage of comments concerning monetary benefits for the family being far outweighed by those concerning non-monetary benefits for the family (18% and 82% respectively).

With respect to the family as a whole, interviewees felt the main monetary benefit was the location of their home in relation to their business – “you don’t have to spend money travelling, your business is right there”. The main non-monetary benefit cited stemmed also from location, with interviewees feeling that because the family was living on the farm, and because “dairying involves a range of tasks at different levels”, it is a business they can all be involved in, “a business that’s workable with a family”. It is interesting to note that these positive aspects do not appear to be directly related to the boundarylessness of the dairying career, that is, the location of the home in relation to the business, and dairying being a business that the family can all be involved in, are not benefits that result from the transience of this career. With respect to the partner, all interviewees felt the main monetary benefit was the money they earned, “whether it be relief milking, feeding calves, or being full-on in the operations”. The main non-monetary benefits cited were that the boundarylessness of dairying allowed partners to work together, and “to achieve goals together”. With respect to children, no comments were made regarding monetary benefits. Comments regarding non-monetary benefits were focused on the social skills children develop from the boundarylessness of this type of career – “by the time you see 12 or 13 year olds, they’re actually quite practiced at meeting new people”.

Negative Impacts

Negative impacts were categorised into monetary and non-monetary costs, with the percentage of comments concerning monetary costs for the family being far outweighed by those concerning non-monetary costs for the family (7% and 93% respectively).

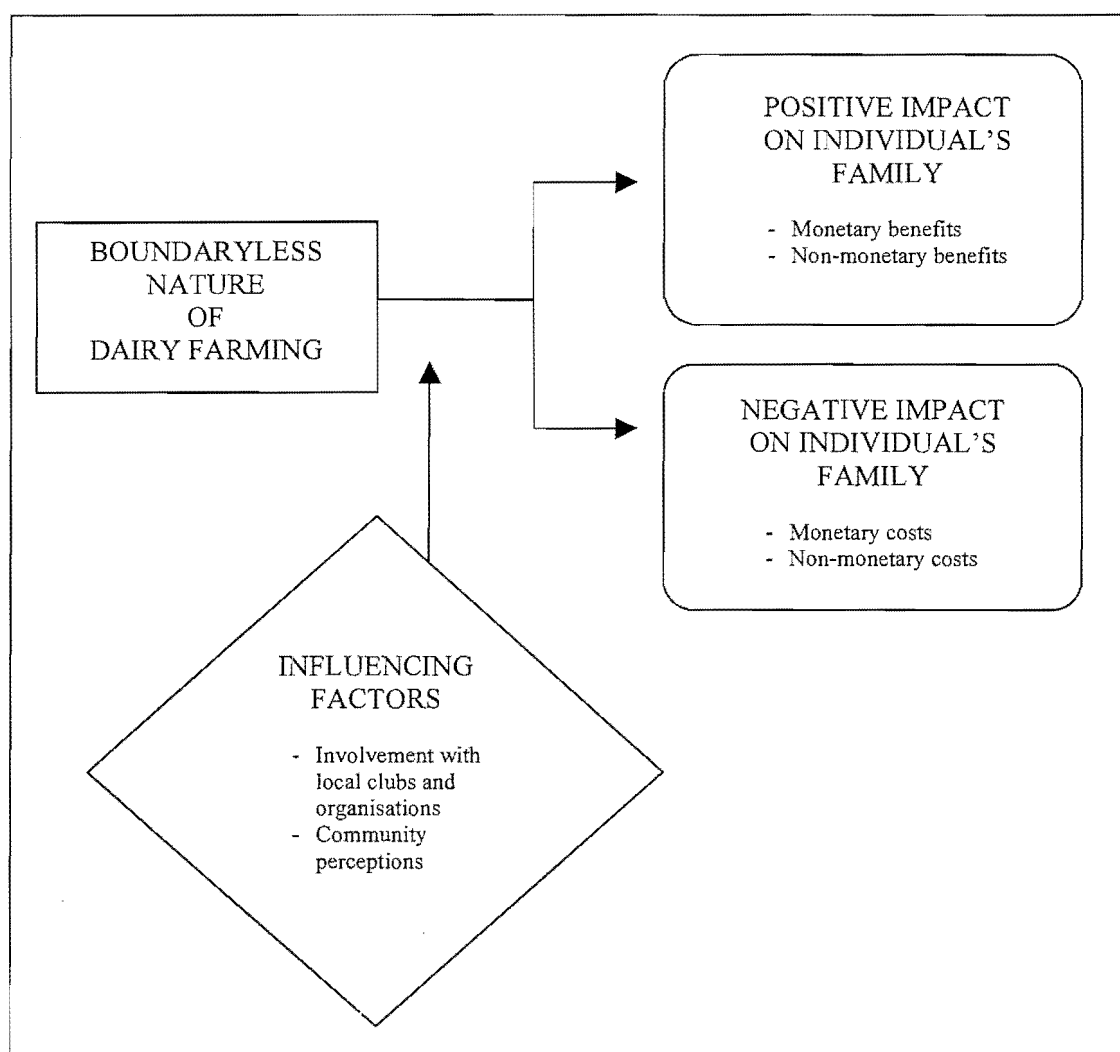
With respect to the family as a whole, it was noted that an increasing amount of dairy farmer’s children are going away to boarding school “so their parents don’t have to pull them out each time they change jobs”. Consequently, the most common monetary cost that interviewees cited was the cost of children’s boarding school fees. Childcare was also noted as a monetary cost for the family as a whole, as it results in “less money that the family has for buying things”. This monetary cost was directly related to the most commonly noted non-monetary cost of leaving behind friends and

family, as well as the difficulty of getting to know new people in a relatively short time frame. Because “many dairying families have lost support networks for looking after their children – their parents, relatives and trusted friends - and don’t know many people that well, their options are fairly limited when it comes to childcare”. As a result, many families have no other alternative but to pay for professional childcare services, which can be very expensive. With respect to the partner, the only monetary cost noted was by three interviewees who themselves had a career outside of dairying but whose partners were dairy farmers. For these three people, the cost of travelling from Culverden to another area for work was a major monetary cost, one that they “found hard to justify”. Non-monetary costs included being “stuck at home” while working and caring for children, as well as “a lack of time for other things”. With respect to children, no monetary costs were noted, however a number of non-monetary costs were. The most common non-monetary cost noted was that children faced the difficulty of moving to a new school half way through the year, sometimes to “a class that had been together since five years of age”, making it “hard for them to break in”. Missing out on schooling modules due to “the old school running a particular course and the new school offering different courses” was also noted as a non-monetary cost.

Influencing Factors

Two factors influencing whether an individual’s family is impacted in a positive or negative way by the boundaryless nature of dairy farming surfaced in these interviews. These factors were involvement with local clubs and organisations, as well as community perceptions (see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3: Positive And Negative Impact And Influencing Factors Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming
On Family



The family's involvement with local clubs and organisations appeared to be an influential factor with nearly all interviewees making comments on this theme. Interviewees felt that "community organisations, particularly plunket, playcentre, and school", were integral in bringing families together. This involvement is likely to result in positive impacts such as allowing the family as a whole to work together, through involving both parents and children in a common endeavour. Furthermore, it provides the dairy farmers' partner with the opportunity to get to know others in the community, and children with the opportunity to develop their social skills. In contrast, a lack of involvement is likely to result in negative impacts on the family as a whole, as well as the partner and children, as a result of not having the opportunity to develop friendships with others in the community.

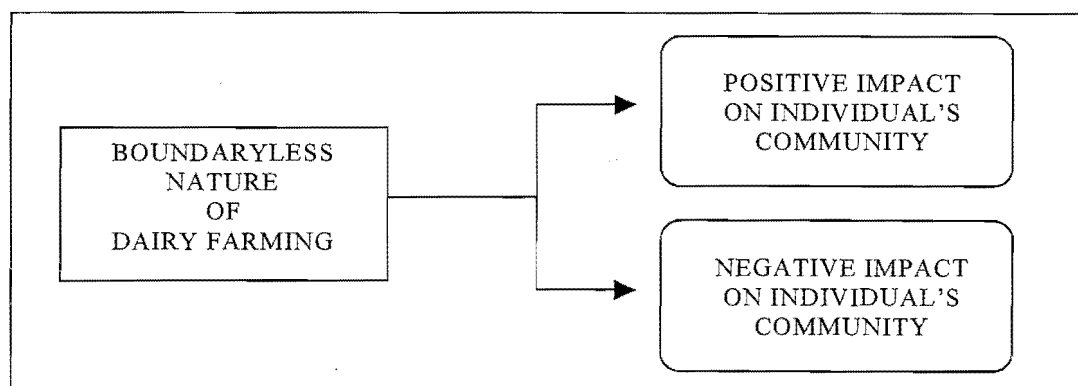
Community perceptions also appeared to be an influential factor, with interviewees feeling that “the people you meet when you arrive and how they perceive you can make a big difference”. Interviewees felt there were two extremes – “if the first people you meet are good people who want to help you integrate into the community, then there is a good chance they will help you do so by introducing you to their friends and helping you get involved in local activities”. This is likely to result in positive impacts for the family through providing them with the opportunity to meet new people and learn about the community. However, “if the first people you meet are not good people and don’t want you to integrate into the community, or don’t care whether you integrate into the community, then there is a good chance that they will not make any effort to help you do so”. This may have negative impacts on the family through making it difficult to establish relationships, both personal and business, with others in the community.

The major distinction noted between these two influencing factors was that one is relatively controllable and the other is not – “we can influence our level of involvement in local organisations but it’s very difficult to influence the perceptions people in the community have of us”. These factors can thus play an important part in determining whether the family experiences positive or negative impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming.

Community Findings

As indicated in Figure 4.1, the boundaryless nature of dairy farming can have both positive and negative impacts on the community. Interviewees were divided on their views, with some suggesting only positive impacts, some suggesting only negative impacts, some suggesting a combination of both positive and negative impacts, and some feeling that the community was “not better or worse” due to the boundarylessness of the dairy farming career, “just different”.

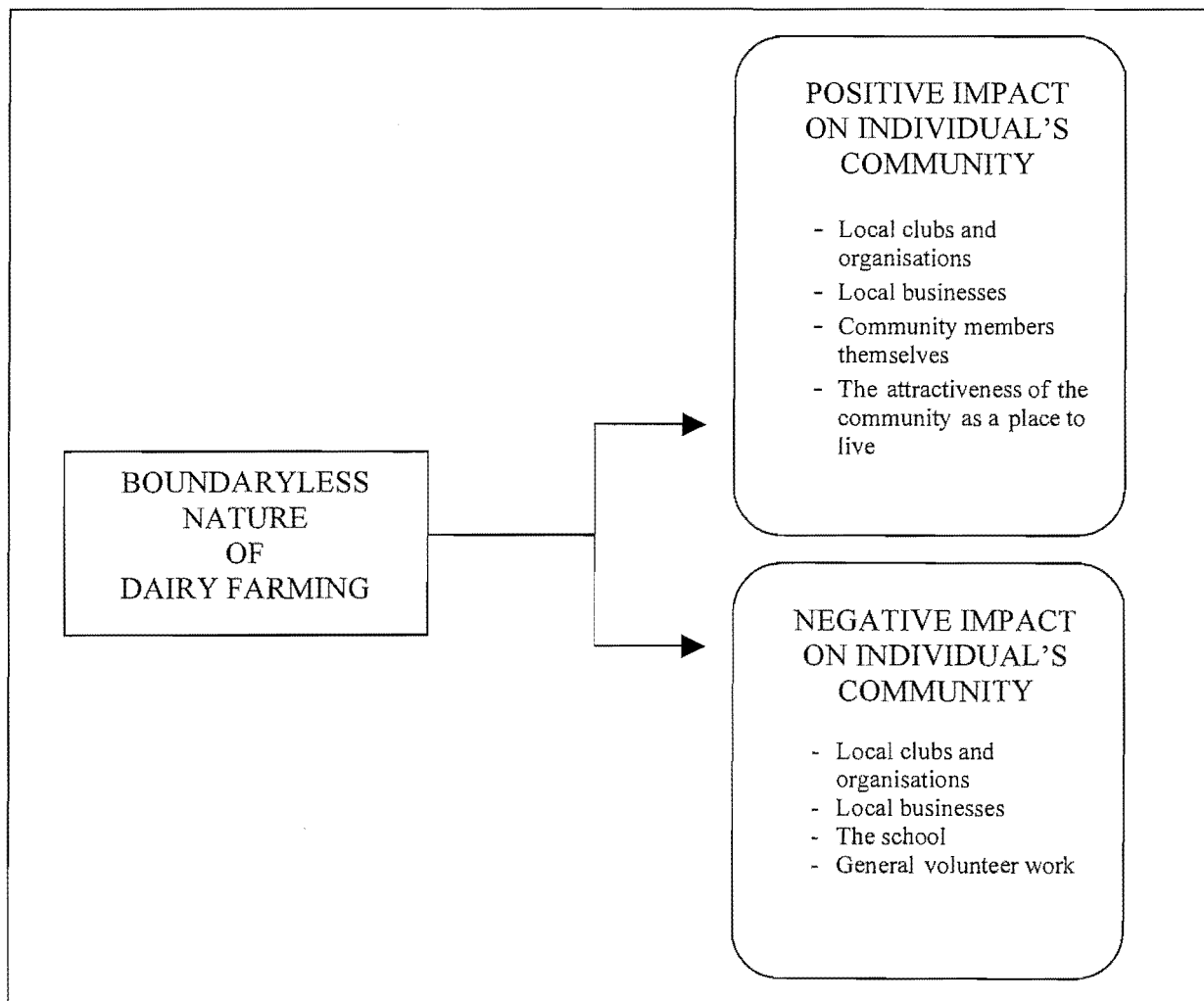
**Figure 4.1: Impact Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming
On Community**



Positive and Negative Impacts of the Boundaryless Nature of Dairy Farming

The percentage of comments made concerning the positive impact of this type of career on the community were outweighed by the percentage of comments made concerning the negative impact of this type of career on the community (39% and 61% respectively). Responses were focused around the impact on specific subgroups of the community including local clubs and organisations, local businesses, the school, general volunteer work, the community members themselves, and the attractiveness of the community as a place to live (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Positive And Negative Impact Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming
On Community



Positive Impacts

The majority of comments regarding the positive impacts of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the community were made by the dairy farmers themselves and focused on local clubs and organisations, local businesses, community members themselves, and the attractiveness of the community as a place to live.

Local clubs and organisations were suggested to have benefited from the boundaryless nature of dairy farming in two main ways. Firstly, with many dairy farmers having children, the plunket and playcentre regularly experience the attendance of a number of new faces – “plunket seems to be ticking along really really well because there's a lot of young families here now”. Furthermore, with many of the dairy farmers being able to play social sport, twilight netball and twilight tennis have been established and are very well supported, with many agreeing that “if we didn't have dairy farming, if the dairy farmers weren't here, we wouldn't have these activities”. The combined church, squash club, netball club, and Brownies and Guides, were also noted as local clubs and organisations that have benefited from dairy farming and the new people it brings in. With respect to local businesses, many attributed business success to the dairying career, believing it has increased demand for goods and services, “brought more work”, and “good business since the dairy farmers cranked up”. With respect to community members themselves, interviewees felt that the boundaryless nature of dairying had provided them with a number of work opportunities – “the prospects for jobs for young people have improved since the increase in dairy farming”, “there are opportunities for existing farmers through grazing”, and “dairying provides the opportunity to start a new career at a later age”. With respect to the attractiveness of the community as a place to live, interviewees felt that the boundaryless nature of dairying in combination with the Amuri Dairy Employers Group had resulted in “a housing market that is much better than it used to be”, “increased land value”, and the belief that “Culverden's a really good place to come”.

It is interesting to note that the majority of those who felt the boundaryless nature of dairy farming had a positive impact on the community, also felt the community's classification had improved with respect to its openness. They felt that in the past the Culverden community was “a very conservative, traditional area”, one that “was very reserved in its attitude to change”, “treated new people with a certain amount of suspicion” and as a result, was “relatively closed”. While there were some who felt Culverden was still like this, the majority felt that “it is more welcoming, more accepting and more open to change”. Various reasons were given for this, that “very few that were

born and bred here in Culverden are still here”, “a lot of older Culverden have gone”, and “it's becoming more and more that change is happening and you can't stop it”.

At the same time however, many of these interviewees, the majority being dairy farmers, felt that the sense of community was lacking and that it was movement in and out of the community that was the most significant factor. With respect to membership, some felt a lack of belonging, that they did not quite “fit in”. In terms of influence, many felt it was difficult to make a difference in the community with it being “hard to get things changed”. With respect to the integration or fulfilment of needs, many felt their needs could but were not being met by the community and as a result that they were “being cut out of a different way of life” and this was “having a detrimental effect on personal well-being”. Some felt that their needs could not be met due to the existence of an “us and them” mentality and believed that “so long as that's there nothing will happen”. No comments were made with respect to emotional connection.

Negative Impacts

The majority of comments regarding the negative impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the community were made by non-dairy farmers and were focused on local clubs and organisations and local businesses. Some comments were also focused around the school and general volunteer work.

With respect to local clubs and organisations, many interviewees felt dairying has had a negative impact, due mainly to the high demands dairying has on an individual's time, the resultant “somewhat antisocial nature of dairying”, the work rosters they are on, and their lack of commitment. Interviewees felt that the combination of these factors has resulted in a lack of support for clubs and organisations, particularly in leadership positions, with some believing “dairy farming has ruined competitive sport”. With respect to local businesses, the overriding comment was that “there is a lack of support for local businesses from dairy farmers” and as a result a lot of money is going out of the community and some of the local businesses are struggling. With respect to the school, it was felt the boundaryless nature of dairy farming has had a negative impact due to the increasing number of dairy farmers' children who are going to boarding school, the high decile rating, and “disruption through children coming and going as their parents contracts begin and end”. With respect to general volunteer work, it was felt that this area of the community had also suffered as a result of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming, with many feeling that “dairy farmers come in, do their thing, and disappear”, “do not seem to have the time to devote to service organisations”

and “are not that willing to be part of the wider community”. A point of interest is that a number of dairy farmers appear more inclined to donate money as opposed to time.

It is interesting to note that the majority of interviewees who felt that the boundaryless nature of dairy farming had had a negative impact on the community, also felt that the community’s classification had worsened with respect to its disintegration. They felt that in the past the Culverden community was more integrated, “a very strong community”, “loyal to its local businesses and organisations”, comprised of a number of family farms, which gave it “a really solid base and had kept the community together for years”. They felt that now in comparison, the community was more disintegrated, that “there is a lack of support for local”, and the existence of an “us and them mentality”, which has resulted in “a community that doesn’t mix as well as it used to”.

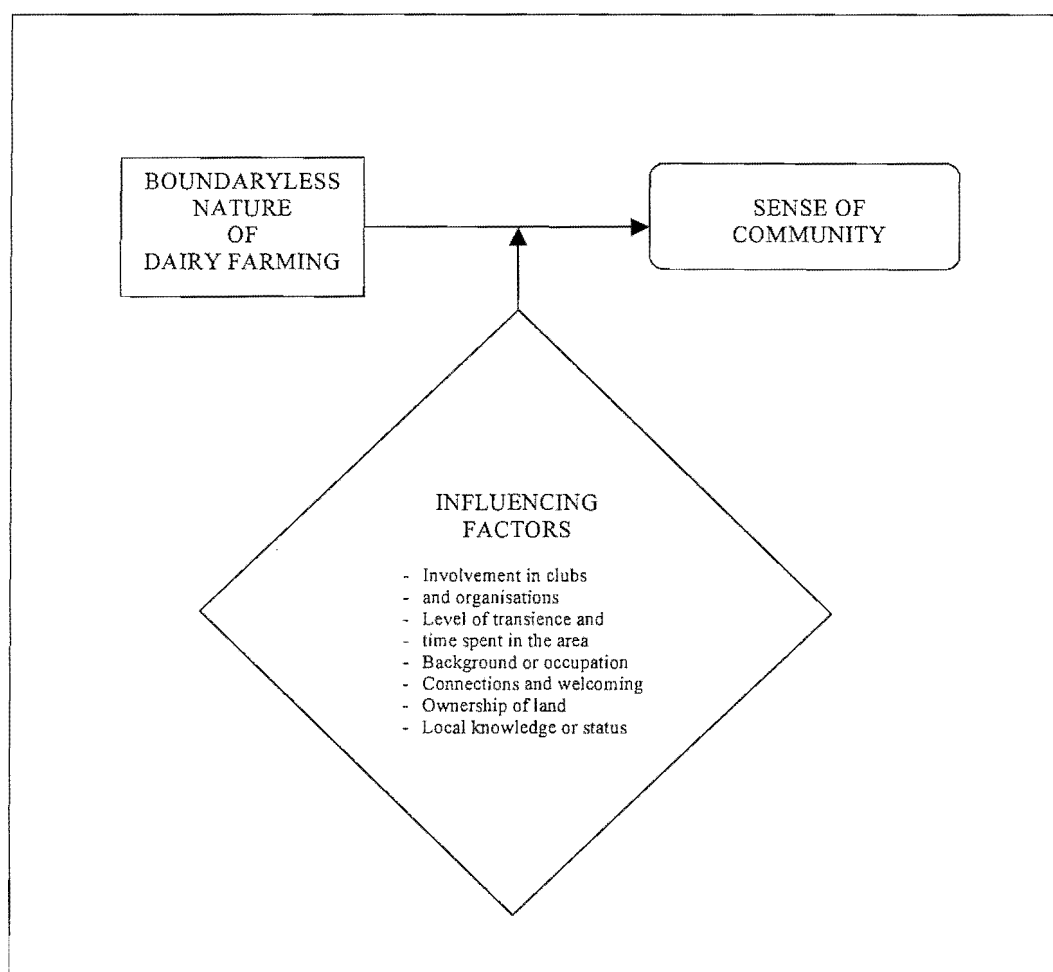
At the same time, these interviewees, the majority being non-dairy farmers, also felt that the sense of community had suffered, due primarily to the frequent movement of the dairy farmers in and out of the community. With respect to membership, a number felt the transient dairy farmers did not belong, and that they were “a different breed”. They felt the dairy farmers lacked influence, namely because “they go about changing things in the wrong way” and “they’re not here for long anyway”. With respect to integration and the fulfilment of needs, many felt that people’s needs can and are being met, “that if there is enough interest and support for something then you will get it”, “that a lot of businesses have gone out of their way to meet the dairy farmers needs”, and that it is important to remember that “Culverden is a community that still tries to cater for everyone, we’re not all one thing”. In terms of emotional connection, they felt that “when things happen, people are really supportive”.

Influencing Factors

A number of factors influencing whether people feel there is a sense of community emerged. These factors included involvement in clubs and organisations, level of transience and time spent in the area, background or occupation, connections and welcoming, ownership of land, and local knowledge or status (see Figure 4.3). It is interesting to compare which factors were viewed as most important to people who have lived in the community a long time as opposed to the dairy farmers, many of which have not lived in the community for long. For those who have lived in the community a long time, involvement in clubs and organisations was considered the most influential factor in whether they felt newcomers belonged in the community. Level of transience and time spent in the area, as well as background or occupation were the next most important influential

factors, with connections or welcoming, ownership of land, and local knowledge or status, playing not such an important role. In comparison, for those who have not lived in the community a long time, involvement in clubs and organisations was also considered the most important factor influencing a sense of community. Connections and welcoming, background or occupation, level of transience and time spent in the area, were considered the next most influential factors. Local knowledge was not considered to be very important at all, and ownership of land was not mentioned. It should be noted that the level of importance of these factors differed significantly between groups, with those that have lived in the community a long time placing much higher importance on these factors in general, than those who have not lived in the community for long. The considered level of influence of these factors therefore was dependent on the group from which the interviewees came from.

Figure 4.3: Factors Influencing The Impact Of Boundaryless Nature Of Dairy Farming On Community



Summary Of Findings

The previous section has presented the findings of the interviews, looking firstly at the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals from the dairy farmers' perspective, and following this, at the impact on their family and community, from a combination of dairy farmers' perspectives and perspectives of others in the community. This section will provide a brief summary of the main findings.

From the dairy farmer's perspective, the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the dairy farming individual themselves is considered to be only slightly more negative than positive, with the demographics of the individual and the individual's attitude to career, change, community, and adventure, having an influence on whether the individual experienced positive or negative impacts. From the perspective of the dairy farmer and others in the community, the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the family is considered to be significantly more negative than positive, with involvement in local clubs and organisations and community perceptions having an influence on whether the individual experienced positive or negative impacts. From the perspective of the dairy farmer and others in the community, the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the community is considered to be more negative than positive, with involvement in clubs and organisations, level of transience and time spent in the area, background or occupation, connections and welcoming, ownership of land, and local knowledge or status, having an influence on the sense of community felt by community members.

Dairy farmers and members of the community are thus divided on their views regarding the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on individuals, families and communities. As is evident from the findings, some interviewees felt the impact was primarily positive, some felt it was primarily negative, and some felt it was a combination of the two.

These findings provide a check on the correctness of the observations and indicate that an accurate representation of the attitudes and behaviours of members of the Culverden community has been provided. Furthermore, these findings partially support prevailing literature by confirming the existence of a number of positive aspects of boundaryless careers. At the same time however, they identify a number of negative aspects associated with this type of career. The limitations of existing research are thus highlighted through confirming that career literature neglects the potential impacts of the positive aspects it regularly refers to, and almost entirely overlooks potential impacts of the negative aspects of boundaryless careers. The following section will compare these findings to existing literature.

DISCUSSION

The following section presents a comparison of the findings with the New Zealand and international research and literature as presented in the literature review. Again, the format of individual impact, family impact, and community impact, will be followed.

Individual

While literature on boundaryless careers tends to emphasise the positive aspects of these types of careers, interviewees' responses regarding the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the individual were focused on both the positive and negative aspects of this type of career. Of the positive aspects identified by interviewees, three very closely resembled those identified in career literature. Interviewees felt that the empowerment they gained through knowledge, skills, and experience, the sense of achievement derived, and the development of both personal and business networks, were important positives of this type of career. Correspondingly, career literature identified portable skills, knowledge, and abilities across multiple firms, personal identification with meaningful work, and the development of multiple networks and peer learning relationships as positive aspects of these careers. Interviewees' responses therefore mirror these positive aspects that boundaryless career literature identifies, and thus confirm their existence in the boundaryless career of dairy farming. Interviewees also identified monetary returns as one of the most significant positives, which suggests it to be a major attraction of the dairying career. This was not mentioned in the career literature. It would be interesting to find out how monetary returns ranks against other positive aspects in boundaryless careers other than dairying. Career literature suggested two additional positives that were not identified in interviews - on-the-job action learning, and individual responsibility for career management. It appears that while on-the-job action learning was not explicitly identified as a positive in the interviews, it was this aspect that allowed many of the interviewees to take up dairy farming, regardless of whether they had any training or experience. With regard to individual responsibility for career management, while this aspect also was not identified explicitly, it was hinted at by interviewees who felt that the boundaryless nature of dairying gave them the freedom and ability to organise their own lives. In summary, it is evident therefore, that in terms of the positive aspects of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming, a good alignment between boundaryless career literature and the findings of my observation and interviews exists.

While career literature in general tends to overlook negative issues, it does make reference to changes in the psychological contract between firms and workers, suggesting that instead of workers exchanging loyalty for job security, they now seem to exchange performance for continuous learning and marketability. This change is suggested to have resulted in decreased job security, decreased employee loyalty, and increased worker cynicism. Decreased job security was identified by many of the interviewees as a negative impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming, along with the loss of networks, that is, having to constantly rebuild both personal and business networks due to a change in location. Lack of belonging, lack of leisure time or involvement outside of the farm, and the difficulties and stress of moving, respectively, were also identified as negative aspects. This list of negative impacts shows these problems do exist and reinforces that career literature overlooks such possible consequences of a boundaryless career. It is interesting to note that decreased employee loyalty and increased worker cynicism were not identified by interviewees as being negative impacts of this type of career, particularly when a number of the interviewees were employers themselves and were having to constantly replace lost skills and experience due to the relatively temporary employment contracts their employees were employed under. Perhaps the fact that many of the dairy farm employers have moved up through the system themselves explains this in that they are accustomed to the relatively temporary nature of dairying contracts and see these as a way of life.

From the individual perspective, this research reinforces the positive perception of these types of careers as promoted in boundaryless career literature and reveals that those experiencing this type of career in Culverden very openly promote the positive aspects of their career. Negative aspects however are referred to much less openly. The following statements from a dairy farming couple reflect the positive attitude many share, and at the same time, while acknowledging that negatives do exist, reflect the reluctance many have to recognise these negatives:

“I think because we chose this career, I think you quite look forward to the moves and you think of the positives. Well I don't try and think of too many negatives otherwise...”

“You'd never do it.”

It is this type of attitude that has been integral to the success of many of the dairy farmers in Culverden – focusing on the positives and not the negatives. At the same time however, these

statements provide evidence that regardless of how positive many of the dairy farmers are about their career and its impacts, negatives do indeed exist.

Family

Family As A Whole

Economic literature suggests that moving is undertaken in most instances only if the benefits exceed the costs. It goes on to suggest that monetary benefits are usually long term and monetary costs short term. Furthermore, it suggests non-monetary benefits, such as access to a more pleasant environment, and non-monetary costs, such as time required to learn about the new location, loss of social and family support groups, and disruption to children's schooling, may also exist. With respect to interviewees' responses, it appears that the main monetary benefit noted, the location of their home in relation to their business, is indeed a long term benefit in that regardless of how many times the family changes employers while carrying out their boundaryless dairy farming career, they are still highly likely to be living on the farm itself. The main monetary cost however, being the cost of children's boarding school fees, is a longer rather than shorter term cost. In terms of non-monetary benefits, interviewees did not note the access to a more pleasant environment but instead noted the access to a business environment in which the whole family could be involved. Interviewees recognised each of the non-monetary costs noted in economic literature. On reflection, a number of costs of undertaking a boundaryless career surfaced from these interviews showing they do exist and reinforcing that career literature overlooks a significant aspect of boundaryless careers. With respect to whether the benefits exceeded the costs in these cases, overall benefits did not appear to surpass overall costs, with monetary benefits exceeding the monetary costs, but non-monetary benefits falling well short of non-monetary costs. As such the literature is only partially supported and does not appear to represent the movement of many of the dairy farming families in Culverden. This leads me to question the significance of monetary and non-monetary benefits and costs in dairy farming families' migratory decision-making. With monetary benefits exceeding monetary costs, but non-monetary benefits falling well short of non-monetary costs, it appears that monetary benefits and costs have more influence or more importance in the migratory decision-making of Culverden dairy farming families than non-monetary benefits and costs. Thus, it appears it may be assumed that so long as monetary benefits exceed monetary costs for dairy farming families in Culverden, then the move will be undertaken.

Partner

It is suggested in career literature that there is an increasing commonality of dual-employed couples, with many farm households pursuing more than one career. These suggestions appear to hold true in the case of dairy farmers, whereby in many cases both partners are employed on the dairy farm. Career literature separates dual-employed couples into two subsets – dual-career and dual-earner. Dual-career couples are suggested to be highly committed to their careers, view work as essential to their psychological sense of self, as integral to their personal identities, and as part of a career path involving progressively more responsibility, power, and financial remuneration. Dual-earner couples in comparison may define their employment as relating to rewards such as money for paying bills, an opportunity to keep busy, or an additional resource to ‘help out’ rather than as an integral element of their self-definitions. Interviewees’ comments suggest that some dairy farming couples fall into the dual-career classification and some into the dual-earner classification.

Career literature suggests that life in a dual-employed household can have both advantages and disadvantages. With dairy farming couples fitting the description of dual-employed couples, it is appropriate to compare the advantages and disadvantages noted in career literature with those noted by the dairy farmers themselves. Two rewarding aspects of a dual-employed household - the monetary returns from having both partners working, and a sense of fulfilment - were noted both in career literature and by the dairy farmers. Career literature also suggested that parents might have more equal relationships with their children because one partner was not out all day working and the other at home all day. This was not mentioned in interviews. Dairy farmers did however note one further rewarding aspect - working together with their partner. With respect to the disadvantages of dual-employed couples, career literature notes a number of significant difficulties that may be encountered – determining whose job the family will relocate for, finding equally attractive job offers in reasonable geographic proximity, and deciding when to marry and/or have children. The only difficulties noted in interviews were by the three couples who were in a dual-career household comprising one partner with a dairying career and the other with a career outside of dairying. In these cases, the career of the partner who was dairying was deemed to be the priority career. The major difficulty described by the partner whose career was not deemed to be the priority career was the cost of travelling relatively long distances to get to work. In time, for these three people, the cost of travelling became too great and resulted in them having to give up their careers completely. The difficulties they faced following doing so, and moving into their partners’ careers of dairying, were noted as being stuck at home, living and working in the same place, as well as a lack of time for

other things. Dual-earner couples noted no difficulties. Marriage and childbirth did not appear to be impacted by the dual-employment of many of the dairy farmers interviewed, with the majority being married with children.

This research has shown therefore that farm households are indeed pursuing more than one career, with dairy farming couples making up a large proportion of dual-employed couples in Culverden. Of the dual-employed dairy farming couples, the majority are dual-earners and noted no difficulties of this type of relationship. The few that were dual-career however noted a number of difficulties. It appears then that the amount of difficulties associated with each type of couple directly influences the frequency of that type of couple. Thus, it may be assumed that because there are less difficulties associated with dual-earner couples this type of couple is more common. It should be noted however that while interviewees noted no difficulties of dual-earner couples, career literature did. It appears then that this particular literature does not correspond with the boundaryless dairy farming career, in which both a male and female are often employed as a couple and have the opportunity to find equally attractive jobs in the same place, thus eliminating this potential difficulty that is outlined in career literature.

This research has also indicated that women do indeed compromise their career ambitions to accommodate their husbands' and that they will compromise these ambitions to the point where they may give up their former career entirely. Some women that were interviewed had initially tried to continue with their careers but found travelling from Culverden to their place of work to be too costly and time consuming. It appears then that the giving up of their careers may have been more of a necessity than a choice and that dairying was deemed to be the priority career. Regardless, the majority did not feel they were disadvantaged as a result of having to give up their careers. Perhaps the fact that they could get work on the dairy farm, and be employed as a couple, played a major part in this. Thus, while career literature suggests that finding a position of choice or moving from a current position may very well be the most difficult issue for members of dual-employed families, it appears this does not apply to members of dual-employed families in boundaryless dairy farming careers.

Children

Some research carried out on the relationship between mobility and school achievement indicates that mobility is generally regarded negatively due to its adverse effect on children's educational achievements. Negative impacts included disrupted social and academic development, lower

achievement levels, delayed progression from one year level to the next, and high school dropout. Interviewees referred to the first three of these impacts. High school dropout however was not identified. Other research on the mobility-school relationship has suggested that the effects of mobility on school achievement are minimal. Some interviewees supported this notion. Others went further to suggest that children's social skills in meeting people are improved as a result of moving schools. These same interviewees noted no negative aspects of any kind.

This research has therefore indicated that dairy farmers in Culverden are divided on the impact of mobility on school achievement and thus supports what is suggested in the literature. Furthermore, with an increasing number of children going away to boarding school, and an increasing number going at primary age, the impact of mobility on school achievement appears to be becoming less and less of an issue in Culverden.

Community

A sense of community is important to people and is viewed as a state that is desirable. It is interesting to note that while membership, influence, integration, and a sense of emotional connection are considered by sociological literature to make up a sense of community, comments from dairy farmers experiencing their boundaryless careers in Culverden were focused around membership and influence. This suggests then that membership and influence are the most significant elements influencing a sense of community for these dairy farmers. Thus, regardless of whether these dairy farmers believe their needs will be met by resources available in the area, or whether they believe they have and will share history, time, places and experiences with others around them, so long as they experience feelings of belonging and feel they can make a difference in the area that they live, they will be happy, and will consider there to be a sense of community.

The research that has been carried out for this thesis supports the notion that movement to and from rural areas has a profound impact on the sense of community and community structures. While some felt the impact was positive, some felt it was negative, and some felt it was a combination of the two, the movement of individuals and families that has resulted from the boundaryless nature of the dairy farming career is in fact considered by longer-time locals and newer dairy farmers alike, to be the major cause of division between different people in the Culverden area. Divergent groups in the community thus share the same view regarding what is the cause of the difference of opinion between them.

This research has also shown that while movement to and from an area is considered to be the major factor influencing the sense of community, this factor encompasses a number of other factors including involvement in clubs and organisations, level of transience and time spent in the area, background or occupation, connections and welcoming, ownership of land, and local knowledge or status. The importance different groups in the community place on these factors is of significant interest - those that have lived in the community a long time placed much higher importance on these factors than many of the dairy farmers who have not lived in the community a long time. It seems then that these factors may constitute a type of norm for those that have lived in the community a long time, something that is required or regarded as normal. This, in combination with many of the dairy farmers placing very low importance on these factors, or not being aware that they have an influence on the sense of community at all, appears to be a source of conflict between these two groups. The question this raises is whether dairy farmers are aware of the longer-time locals' views. Do dairy farmers realise that longer-time locals consider these factors to be extremely important in the sense of community? Perhaps an awareness of this view would help to reduce this divergence. Obviously some of these factors, such as background or occupation, are difficult to alter. Others however, such as involvement in clubs and organisations, can be more easily altered, and if, for instance, dairy farmers knew that involvement in clubs and organisations was considered the most influential factor in whether those that have lived in Culverden a long time felt that newcomers belonged in the community, perhaps then they could make a conscious effort to become involved, and as a result, potentially integrate and be accepted more easily into the community.

Sociological literature suggests that areas with a more mobile population tend to have fewer voluntary organisations due to a lot of movement in communities contributing to breakdowns in community cohesion, residents having a lack of commitment and few ties with the local community, and as a result being less inclined to become involved in social activities. After researching the impact of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming on the Culverden community, one could infer that this thesis supports this notion. However we must be careful not to accept things at face value. As one interviewee pointed out, "dairying is the most recent major change in the area and when things aren't going quite right, it is first to cop the blame". Often the most obvious factor is held responsible with underlying factors that may have a significant or even stronger influence often going unnoticed. This appears to be the reason why, for example, many people in Culverden blame the lack of support for local organisations on the boundaryless nature of dairy farming, at the same time overlooking the trend of the average New Zealander working longer hours and consequently having less time for other things.

This research has also shown that community classification is not as straightforward as literature might suggest it to be. Every interviewee had difficulty fitting the Culverden community into one of the four classifications provided, with most feeling the categories were too “clear-cut”. Other problems with the community classification emerged through the interviews, namely its subjectiveness. As a number of interviewees suggested, community classification is likely to differ significantly depending on who is asked to classify the community. Depending on what age someone is, the number of friends they have, who their friends are, where they have come from, what they do, are but some of the factors influencing community classification. This research reinforced this, with those who felt the boundaryless nature of dairy farming had a positive impact on the community giving much different classifications than those who felt the boundaryless nature of dairy farming had a negative impact on the community. Regardless of the problems of community classification however, we must not forget that as this research has shown, Culverden is indeed a unique community and as such is unlikely to fit neatly into a community classification system.

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Beginning with a review of the concept of the boundaryless career and moving on to explain the notion of dairy farming as a boundaryless career, this thesis has drawn on the experiences of locals in the Culverden community as well as New Zealand and international research and literature in order to expand the currently limited understanding of the impact of boundaryless careers on individuals, families, and communities.

The focus of this thesis could indeed have been on the impact boundarylessness has on 'professionals' in order to build on current literature that focuses primarily on the career experiences of those in what are commonly considered to be professional occupations. However, as existing literature lacks information on the career experiences of a wide range of groups (Pringle and Mallon, 2002) and the predominant occupation in my local community was one such 'understudied' group, it was relevant to provide some insight into the lives and experiences of dairy farmers. Furthermore, the small portion of literature that does look at effects of boundaryless careers appears limited to the individual or organisation, and thus it was important to broaden the study to include a family and community perspective, in order to develop an understanding of the potential impact of the boundaryless nature of this occupation on not only the individual, but also the family and wider community.

With respect to the individual, this thesis has indicated that dairy farmers in Culverden have a very positive perception of their boundaryless life, which includes a positive attitude to career, an open attitude to change, and an entrepreneurial attitude to adventure. It is this type of attitude, focusing on the positives and not the negatives, that has undeniably been integral to the success of many of the dairy farmers in Culverden. At the same time however, we must not overlook the possibility that such a positive perception can result in a reluctance to recognise or perhaps to accept the potential negative impacts this type of career might present. Doing so may result in severe ramifications, with individuals not knowing how to minimise or deal with such problems if or when they occur. This thesis has shown then that not only does boundaryless career literature overlook potential negative consequences of this type of career, many of those experiencing the boundaryless career also experience and at times overlook potential negative consequences. And what about other boundaryless careers? Do individuals experiencing other boundaryless careers also overlook potential negative consequences? Further research is needed to answer this question and to help people prepare for the problems they might encounter.

In terms of the family, this thesis has indicated that the decision to move is more often than not based on monetary benefits and costs than non-monetary benefits and costs. As such, it appears it may be assumed that so long as monetary benefits exceed monetary costs, the move will be undertaken. It is interesting to note that boundaryless career literature does not identify monetary returns as a positive aspect of this type of career. Further research needs to be carried out to determine the influence of monetary returns on movement in boundaryless careers other than dairying. This thesis has also shown that more farm households are indeed pursuing more than one career, with many dairy farming couples being dual-employed. Furthermore, this research has indicated that women do indeed compromise their career ambitions to accommodate their husbands' and that they will compromise these ambitions to the point where they may give up their former career entirely. With respect to children, this research has indicated that dairy farmers in Culverden are divided on the impact of mobility on school achievement and thus supports what is suggested in the literature. A limitation of this research should be noted at this point. The views regarding the impact on children are those of adults, no children were interviewed. This is likely to explain why the section on family impact was focused around the family as a whole, and the partner, with little focus on the children. Further research needs to be carried out to determine whether or not there is a difference between how people perceive their children to be impacted and how the children feel they are impacted. While these findings reinforced some of the existing literature, other findings did not. With respect to dual-earner couples for example, literature noted a number of difficulties, in particular, the difficulty of finding jobs in the same locality. Those experiencing this type of relationship however did not, due to many dairy farming couples being employed as a couple and thus being able to find work in the same place. Furthermore, while literature suggested that dual-employed couples are very likely to delay or even abandon marriage or childbirth due to career issues, the most common dairy farmer in Culverden was middle aged and married with two or three children. This thesis has therefore highlighted the limitations of existing research and the need for more 'understudied' boundaryless occupations to be included.

With regard to community, this thesis has shown that dairy farmers feel a strong desire for companionship and affectionate human interaction, and that so long as they experience feelings of belonging and feel they can make a difference in the area that they live, they will be happy, and will consider there to be a sense of community. Furthermore, it has shown that a sense of community is important to people and as such is something of value. With respect to the factors comprising a sense of community, views differed significantly, with longer-time locals placing high importance on factors such as involvement in clubs and organisations, level of transience and time spent in the

area, background or occupation, connections and welcoming, ownership of land, and local knowledge or status, which they appeared to regard as norms. Newer dairy farmers in comparison did not regard these factors with such high importance, let alone as something that is required or regarded as normal. Further research is needed to determine whether the relative importance of the elements suggested to make up a sense of community differ between boundaryless occupations, or whether this is peculiar to the boundaryless career of dairy farming. In addition, other types of communities such as cities need to be studied if transience becomes the norm rather than the exception. This research also very strongly supports the notion that movement to and from rural areas has a profound impact on community structures and is frequently held to be a major cause of division within rural communities, with longer-time locals and newer dairy farmers alike supporting this view. But is a shared recognition of the problem not the first stage involved in solving the problem? How is it that these different people can recognise and agree on what is causing division between them but not work out a way to minimise or ultimately overcome this? The answer to this question may lie in change literature. Change literature suggests that conflict is likely to occur when one group pushes for change strongly and the other resists change strongly (Nilakant and Ramnarayan, 1998). In this situation, two opposing change mechanisms are occurring simultaneously – a push and a pull. In the Culverden community, this push and pull mechanism is evidenced through the divergence between many of the dairy farmers who are experiencing a boundaryless career, who share an entrepreneurial attitude to adventure, an open attitude to change, and who may not refer to any particular community as home. At the same time there is a pull from the longer-time locals who have known a close-knit community, one that strongly supports and is loyal to its local organisations and businesses, one in which people look out for and look after one another, a community where everyone knows everyone, one that is made up of generations of families. These push and pull mechanisms appear to prevent the resolving of the divergence between the newer dairy farmers and the longer-time locals. Some interviewees suggested that so long as the “us and them” mentality exists, things cannot improve, and this appears to be true. It appears that so long as longer-time locals try to hold on to the community they once knew and yearn for, and the newer dairy farmers continue to push for new ways of doing things, this divergence will continue to exist. It is at this point that a limitation of this research comes into play. While I have the advantage of being able to recall specific observations I have made in the past, time and cost constraints unfortunately prevent this thesis from being carried out over a period longer than one year. Further research needs to be conducted to determine the influence of time on the strength of the push and

pull mechanism and also to justify the integration of change literature with existing boundaryless career literature.

Further theoretical development and empirical inquiry is needed in order to provide more insight into the impacts of boundaryless careers and into 'understudied' boundaryless occupations. In-depth empirical data collection on a wide range of groups is, as Pringle and Mallon (2002) suggest, required if the boundaryless concept is to develop into a robust and influential heuristic theory. And while I realise that this thesis is only the beginning of research into understudied boundaryless occupations and the impact of such occupations, I believe it is a small step in the right direction. I hope that this thesis will help to raise awareness of the combination of positive and negative impacts that the boundaryless nature of dairy farming has on individuals, families, and rural communities. It is important to note that while focusing primarily on the occupation of dairy farming in the Culverden area, the issues covered in this thesis clearly apply beyond the dairy farming occupation to other boundaryless occupations, and beyond small town New Zealand. The ideas presented in this thesis have not only theoretical significance in terms of providing insight into what existing literature appears to consider a 'non-professional' boundaryless career, but also practical significance by raising awareness as to how the boundaryless dairy farming lifestyle can impact rural people and their communities, in both positive and negative ways. It is hoped that this awareness may help in the development of strategies to address problems that are occurring as a result of the boundaryless nature of dairy farming and at the same time help to take advantage of the opportunities that the boundarylessness of dairy farming creates. In this way, this thesis has the potential to play a crucial role in the maintenance of a cohesive, sustainable rural community.

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APPENDIX I

Table 1: Community Classification

<i>The open, integrated rural community</i>	This is usually large in size and diverse in occupational structure and in its institutional and organisation framework able to adapt to changing conditions.
<i>The closed, integrated rural community</i>	This is characteristic of the most isolated areas with little change in the population. It is inward-looking, self-contained and traditional, maintaining firm boundaries against outside influences. Within it, the roles of people are well defined and there are observed limits on the range of acceptable social behaviour.
<i>The open, disintegrating rural community</i>	This is a situation where there is a rapid rate of change which the community cannot assimilate. There are strong external linkages developed and internal conflict results. This is the situation where greatest disagreement arises between the locals and the newcomers.
<i>The closed, disintegrating rural community</i>	This occurs usually where depopulation has undermined the standard village services and engendered a feeling of despair amongst the inhabitants. Under the impact of change the old settled system is breaking apart.

Source: Carter, 1990: 55.

APPENDIX II

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Demographic Information

- What is your age?
- What is your occupation?
- What is your partner's occupation?
- How many children do you have?
- What are their ages?
- How long have you resided in Culverden?

Work History, Movement and Community Involvement

- Can you please give a brief account of your work history, listing the jobs you have had, where you have worked, and the number of times you have moved?
- What was the reason for your move and what impact (positive, negative or both) do you believe moving had on yourself, your family, the community you moved away from as well as the community you moved into?
- How do you participate in the community? Are you involved in any local clubs or organisations?

The Impact of the Boundaryless Nature of Dairy Farming

This project is focused around the concept of the “boundaryless career” – a sequence of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of a single employment setting. Those experiencing this form of employment no longer stay in the same job at the same location for the majority of their working life. Instead, they move between employers as a result of relatively temporary employment contracts. Dairy farming can be considered a specific example of a boundaryless career in that many dairy farm employees move on after three years at one farm to gain further experience at another and this may occur several times. This frequency of movement is a result of the relatively temporary employment contracts many dairy farmers are employed under, contracts which are generally of three-year tenure, as well as personal aspirations – in order to increase cow numbers, a dairy farmer will often need to move to another farm, one that is better equipped to carry more stock.

- What impact do you think the boundaryless nature of dairy farming has on individuals, their families and their community?

Observations

The questions asked in this section will allow me to delve further into significant issues that have arisen in the observation and at the same time allow me to check the accuracy of the observations I have made.

General Questions

- What impact do you believe the boundaryless nature of dairy farming has on:
 - Dual-employed couples
 - Children's schooling
 - Attitudes and behaviours of people in the community

Classification of Community

- Rural communities can be described as one of four types:

OPEN INTEGRATED RURAL COMMUNITY:

a tendency towards a state of willing reception of outside influences, including new inhabitants
AND the absence of disharmony in the village's institutional life

CLOSED INTEGRATED RURAL COMMUNITY:

a rejection of new ideas and hostility towards newcomers AND the absence of disharmony in the village's institutional life

OPEN DISINTEGRATING RURAL COMMUNITY:

a tendency towards a state of willing reception of outside influences, including new inhabitants
AND the presence of disharmonies creating conflict

CLOSED DISINTEGRATING RURAL COMMUNITY:

a rejection of new ideas and hostility towards newcomers AND the presence of disharmonies creating conflict

- If you were to describe the Culverden community as one of these four types, which would you choose and why?

APPENDIX III

Information Sheet

University of Canterbury
Department of Management

INFORMATION

You are invited to participate as a subject in this research project entitled, “The Boundaryless Nature Of The Dairy Farming Career And Its Impact On The Individual, The Family, And The Community: A Case Study Of Culverden, A Rural North Canterbury Town”.

This project is focused around the concept of the “boundaryless career” – a sequence of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of a single employment setting. Those experiencing this form of employment no longer stay in the same job at the same location for the majority of their working life. Instead, they move between employers as a result of relatively temporary employment contracts. Dairy farming is a specific example of a boundaryless career and is the focus of this project.

The aim of this project is to determine the positive and/or negative impact the boundaryless nature of dairy farming is having on individuals, families and the community, through carrying out an empirical inquiry that combines local views, and New Zealand and international literature to produce a case-study of the Culverden rural community.

Involvement in this project will entail your participation in an interview that will take approximately 30 minutes. All interviews will be tape recorded if circumstances permit and notes about the interview will also be recorded. If tape recording is not possible, notes of the conversation will be taken and expanded as soon as possible. Transcripts of the interviews will then be prepared and checked against the notes or tape. You will have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including withdrawal of any information provided.

As a follow-up to this investigation, you will be offered the opportunity to check the transcript of the interview.

The results of this project may be published in the form of an academic publication. All participants’ needs for confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation will be discussed in advance. The identity of participants can be concealed by, for example, changing names and other identifiable factors, if required. It should be noted however that full concealment is more difficult for high profile people in small communities.

This project is being carried out as a requirement for a Master of Commerce degree by Sarah Allan under the supervision of Dr. Marjo Lips-Wiersma, who can be contacted at (03) 364 2671. She will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project has been reviewed *and approved* by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

APPENDIX IV

Consent Form

Sarah Allan

*"The Triangle"
865 Balmoral Station Road
Culverden
North Canterbury*

2 April 2003

CONSENT FORM

*THE BOUNDARYLESS NATURE OF THE DAIRY FARMING CAREER AND ITS IMPACT ON THE INDIVIDUAL,
THE FAMILY, AND THE COMMUNITY:
A CASE STUDY OF CULVERDEN,
A RURAL NORTH CANTERBURY TOWN*

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved.

I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

NAME (please print):

Signature:

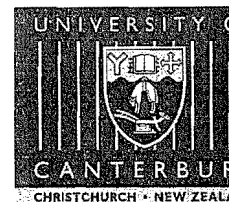
Date:

APPENDIX V

University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee Approval*University of Canterbury*

Private Bag 4800
Christchurch
New Zealand

Telephone: +64-3-366 7001
Facsimile: +64-3-364 2999



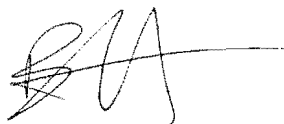
21 May 2003

Sarah Allan
Department Management
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Sarah

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "**The boundary-less nature of the dairy farming career and its impact on the individual, the family, and the community: a case study of Culverden, a rural North Canterbury town.**" has been considered and approved.

Yours sincerely



Blossom Hart
Secretary